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NATO Exercises in 'Spirit of the Cold War'

LD2302174489 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn February 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lev Volnukhin:

Large command post exercises of NATO countries codenamed Wintex/Simex '89 will be held on the territories of NATO countries from February 24 to March 9. During these exercises, held once every two years, the mechanism of interaction of civilian and military bodies and the making of political and military decisions in case of an "emergency" will be tested, local news agencies report. Staffs of national and joint forces of the bloc, state and government institutions and local government bodies of all NATO countries are involved in the exercise. Army units will not be taken from the places where they are permanently stationed, it is reported.

DER SPIEGEL magazine writes that the concept of the exercises envisages a consistent heightening of international tension in Europe until a military conflict breaks out and chemical and nuclear weapons are used. The scenario worked out by Pentagon specialists proceeds, specifically, from the premise that Warsaw Treaty states are the first to attack European NATO countries and use chemical weapons against them, while the United States deals a "preemptive" and a subsequent nuclear strike... [sentence as received]

This scenario which is clearly in the spirit of the Cold War evoked sharp protests of the democratic public and the population of the FRG. The governments of Schleswig-Holstein, Saar and Bremen lands headed by Social Democrats, decided to limit the participation in the exercises to the lowest possible level. "It is not in the spirit of the times to try out a version of a nuclear war and refuse from using political means for settling a conflict," Bjoern Engholm, minister-president of Schleswig-Holstein said, to rationalise the decison of his cabinet.

A number of anti-war public organisations of the FRG, as well as representatives of the Greens Party formed a coordination committee against Wintex/Simex exercises. These exericses are in the worst traditions of the past, and their scenario is imbued with the spirit of the Cold War, says the committee's statement circulated here. By all indications, the NATO leaders are not prepared to discard the enemy image to which they got so accustomed and to face new political realities, the statement says.

Hundreds of anti-war demonstrations, meetings, debates and other functions which are part of the traditional spring drive of peace supporters in the FRG will be held across the country in the days of the exercises on the coordination committee's initiative.

U.S., UK Experts Tour Black Sea Fleet Base

LD2302000389 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Kiev February 21 TASS—Under an arrangement, a delegation of military and diplomatic experts of the United States and Great Britain visited on Tuesday the main base of the Black Sea Fleet, Sevastopol.

The guests went on board a large anti-submarine warfare ship, Kerch. Its commanding officer, Captain Second Class Aleksandr Pavlov took the guests around the ship and answered their questions. Then the guests conversed with officers and sailors.

Until recently the exchange of delegations of experts was conducted by NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries as a rule during exercises. Such trips become more regular now.

Retired Admiral Richard Hill, editor-in-chief of the British journal "NAVAL REVIEW" told a TASS correspondent that the guests saw an excellent ship and were greatly impressed. He said they were also moved by warm reception and openness with which Soviet sailors showed them the entire ship. He noted that the meeting held was an effective step toward naval forces control.

Foreign experts also went to see historic and architectural monuments of Sevastopol.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 23 Feb

Welcomes Bush Dialogue Stand

LD2302152189 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—The new U.S. Administration's intention to give the issue of reducing conventional armaments top-priority attention is welcomed in the Soviet Union, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here on Thursday.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, was commenting on the recent interview given by U.S. President George Bush to the Japanese news agency KYODO TSUSHIN.

With a view to finding mutually acceptable agreements, the USSR is prepared to conduct a dialogue with the United States on cutting conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe, Perfilyev said.

In addition to these problems, he observed, the dialogue agenda should include other important disarmament issues.

The point at issue is, primarily, consistent movement towards concluding a treaty on the 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons while keeping the ABM Treaty intact.

The Soviet Union viewed the U.S. President's remarks to the effect that the forthcoming meetings between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker are linked with thorough preparations for a new Soviet-American summit as an indicator of the U.S. leadership's commitment to the idea of securing continuity in the bilateral dialogue, Perfilyev said.

Criticizes Rawalpindi Shura

LD2302152489 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—"The work of the consultative council (shura), convened by some Afghan opposition groups in Rawalpindi has highlighted once again the entire depth of contradictions within the opposition camp," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told newsmen at a briefing here that Soviet Union is convinced that the attempts, encouraged by certain Pakistani and American circles, to unite the Afghan opposition and breed a viable political organism are doomed to failure.

The idea itself of a consultative council as an interim body designed to establish a coalition government, is, on the whole, reasonable, Perfilyev said.

It is perfectly clear, however, that the council should comprise the entire spectrum of Afghanistan's political forces, including the People's Democratic Party and the Kabul government.

Otherwise, he emphasised, it will be impossible to reach national accord in Afghanistan, while the risk of continued bloodshed will remain.

Discusses Shevardnadze's Iraq Visit

LD2302130389 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Now we bring you a statement made by first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Department, Vadim Perfilyev, on the Soviet foreign minister's official visit to Iraq.

The Soviet Union has maintained with Iraq longstanding, amicable relations based on the firm foundation of the treaty of friendship and cooperation. Our two countries are engaged in an intensive political dialogue. Their trade and economic cooperation are developing successfully. Some 100 big economic facilities have been built or are now under construction in Iraq with Soviet assistance. [passage omitted] The Soviet Union is willing to promote its collaboration with Iraq.

One of the subjects discussed in Baghdad by Eduard Shevardnadze is ways to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict. The Soviet Union believes that with this aim in view, it is essential to use the entire diplomatic arsenal, including the United Nations. Everything must be done to make the dialogue between Iran and Iraq productive. The Soviet Union stands for normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf. It believes that there is a need for furthering the process of talks, and steadily moving toward gaining peace and stability in the region, said Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev.

Comments on Austria, EEC Link

LD2302152789 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—The Soviet Union's stance on the question of Austria's joining the European Community has been distorted in some Austrian publications, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here on Thursday.

"The Soviet stand on this issue is well known," said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate. "It rests on an objective assessement of the current orientation in the EEC's activity and the apparent trends in its development not only towards economic, but also military-political integration.

"Under these conditions, Austria's entry into the EEC would inevitably erode Austria's special international status based on the state treaty and the policy of perpetual neutrality," he added.

Objectively, Perfilyev said, Austria, as well as other neutral countries in Europe, had all possibilities for settling issues of cooperation with the EEC without violating its neutral status.

"The Soviet Union would like Austria to remain a prosperous, independent and neutral state that plays an important constructive role in international relations and in promoting mutual understanding between West and East," said the Soviet spokesman.

Comments on Cambodia, Afghan POW

LD2302164689 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—"The outcome of the second Jakarta informal meeting on Kampuchea can be qualified as definite progress towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean issue," it was stated at a briefing here today by Vadidm Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. He specially noted the constructive contribution made there by Kampuchea, Vietnam, Laos and also the ASEAN states, particularly Indonesia and Thailand.

Commenting on President George Bush's recent interview to the Japanese KYODO TSUSHIN AGENCY, the Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that the new American administration's expressed intention to give priority attention to the reduction of conventional arms was noted with satisfaction in the Soviet Union. Apart from these problems, he noted, a dialogue should be conducted also on other important questions of disarmament, first and foremost on ways to advance consistently towards a treaty on a 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments with the ABM Treaty remaining in force.

Vadim Perfilyev stressed further that the shura, called by a part of the Afghan opposition in Pakistan, had again brought out the contradictions existing within the opposition forces, the futility of attempts made by certain American and Pakistani circles to rally these forces together, to raise a viable political organism from its separate elements.

Turning to the Soviet Union's stand on Austria's membership in the European Community, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that it was based on an objective analysis of current EEC activities in general and of the obvious tendencies of its development not only towards economic, but also military-political integration. In these conditions, he noted, Austria's membership in the EEC would inevitably lead to an erosion of the country's special international status, based as it is on the state treaty and the policy of permanent neutrality.

Replying to a pressman, Vadim Perfilyev pointed out that the Soviet side had taken note of the statement by a BBC presenter that Soviet Serviceman Oleg Lyubov, captured in Afghanistan, was held prisoner at a secret base of one of the Afghan opposition groupings. Preliminary verification, he stressed, has not revealed this name in the list of missing Soviet servicemen, but there were some resembling it. "In any case," the spokesman said, "any information about the fate of Soviet servicemen declared missing in Afghanistan is being checked most scrupulously and is a signal for the most vigorous steps to return them home."

FRG, Japanese Foreign Ministers Hail Restructuring

LD2302132989 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 23 TASS—The perestroyka process in the Soviet Union will exert a favourable influence on the development of East-West relations, it is believed by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the FRG, and Sosuke Uno, foreign minister of Japan. The two statesmen met here today to discuss a wide range of international problems and bilateral relations. Hans-Dietrich Genscher has come to Japan for the official funeral of Emperor Hirohito, scheduled for Friday.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed the hope that perestroyka would be crowned with success, that the West's relations with the Soviet Union would improve as a result of this. Sosuke Uno agreed with this view. He noted, in turn, that perestroyka was in the interests of the West, too.

The heads of the FRG and Japanese diplomatic services reviewed prospects for the creation of a single EEC market in 1992. Genscher pointed out in this connection that a single EEC market was also an attractive idea for Eastern nations. He had thereby expressed the view, the KYODO TSUSHIN AGENCY notes, that creation of a single EEC market would exert a substantial influence on the process of improving East-West relations.

Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita had a meeting today with the FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker. The head of the West German state stressed the importance of exchanging views between Bonn and Tokyo on questions of relations with the Soviet Union, inasmuch as both states were located close to the Soviet Union. A spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry stated at a briefing here that Takeshita had agreed with this idea.

Human Rights Delegate Gives News Conference

LD2402023389 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 22 TASS—The head of the Soviet delegation to a session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission expressed satisfaction with the "businesslike and calm dialogue" at the session.

Felix Stanevsky at a news conference here Wednesday [22 February] expressed the hope that this atmosphere would remain throughout the session and its results would be constructive.

"It is important to remember that the commission is a forum for exactly such dialogue between sovereign states and not for wrangles between propaganda services," he said.

Answering reporters' questions, members of the Soviet delegation spoke about the perestroyka, or restructuring, drive in the Soviet Union, about the drafting of a law on the press, and new rules for entering and leaving the USSR, which promote broader contacts between people.

Shaykh Ul-Islam Pasha-Zade, chairman of the Muslim religious board for Transcaucasus pointed to favourable changes in the state's attitude to religion and believers.

United States & Canada

Bush Comments on Troop Cut, Possible Summit

PM2402101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Step in the Right Direction"]

[Text] Tokyo, 22 Feb—The U.S. Administration welcomes the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men as a "positive step in the right direction," U.S. President G. Bush stated. In an interview with Japan's KYODO he said that the United States is looking forward to the "full implementation" of these reductions announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations. The head of the White House affirmed at the same time that, even with these reductions, the Warsaw Pact countries would supposedly "still have a great deal to do to eliminate the imbalance in conventional armed forces in Europe."

The President described conventional arms control as "an immediate task" for his administration. "We welcome," he indicated, "the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and are impatiently waiting for them to begin."

Asked about the prospects for a Soviet-U.S. summit, Bush said the following: "Of course, both sides want to make thorough preparations for a summit before agreeing to such a meeting. We are now analyzing elements of our policy on the Soviet Union and are thoroughly studying basic conditions for achieving long-term progress in East-West relations. Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will have a number of opportunities in the coming months to embark on examining numerous issues in relations between our countries. Thus, although I am convinced that a summit will take place some time in the future, it is still too early to discuss specific dates."

The head of the U.S. Administration stated that the United States "will continue the struggle for peace, democracy, freedom, and justice throughout the world," acting from the position of a "world power." At the same time he expressed a desire to place "great responsibility" on America's allies, primarily in the military sphere, and aid countries of strategic importance for Washington.

Commentary Views Bush's Asia Tour

OW2402045689 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] U.S. President Bush began his visit to the countries of the Asia-Pacific region today. Except for his 1-day work visit to Canada, this is Bush's first extensive official tour abroad since he became master of the White House. On this, please listen to the following station commentary:

It has been a month since a new administration assumed power in the United States. The foreign policy of the new administration, however, has not yet taken shape. Therefore it would be difficult to assess, ahead of time, Bush's visit to Japan, China, and South Korea. However, some predictions may be made.

Over the past month the new U.S. Administration has taken two major steps in foreign affairs—Secretary of State Baker's month-long visit to 15 European members of NATO and Bush's current tour. The fact that Bush is taking a (?medium-length) trip, the first abroad since he assumed the presidency, to the three countries in the Asia-Pacific region indicates the keen attention given by the White House to the importance of the region. According to Professor (Scrapino), head of the East Asia Institute of the University of California, Bush's current visit is of great significance because the United States has more economic, political, and strategic interests in this region than any other region in the world.

The official reason for Bush's visit to Japan is to attend Japanese Emperor Hirohito's funeral. Besides this, no other major political (?move) is anticipated. However, the strengthening of allied relations will undoubtedly be the focus of Bush's talks with Japanese and South Korean officials. Judging by the speeches made during his election campaign, he favors a policy of strength and wants to conduct the dialogue on peace and disarmament from the position of a powerful United States. During the visit, he may demand that Tokyo and Seoul take greater responsibilities on the issue of joint defense. Certain steps were decided upon during Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's visit to Washington earlier this month.

However, such a policy has not only perplexed, but also encountered resistance from the public, because this policy runs counter to the course of events in the region. A few days ago, for example, South Korea's largest opposition party declared a 10-day nationwide anti-U.S., antigovernment campaign against Bush's visit. In order to dispel anti-U.S. sentiment in South Korea, President Bush plans to meet not only with officials but also opposition leaders in South Korea.

The question of the Soviet Union will also be a focal point of Bush's visit to the three countries in the Asia-Pacific region. First, during Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's visit to Washington, one-third of the agenda of the U.S.-Japanese summit was devoted to Soviet policy in the Asia-Pacific region and Soviet-Japanese relations. It seems that discussions on this question will continue during the current visit. Second, Bush obviously wants to find out, in his talks with Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders, prospects for a complete normalization of Sino-Soviet relations before Gorbachev's visit to China. This is entirely understandable because it would be difficult to predict or envision the situation in this region without considering Soviet policy toward the Asia-Pacific region and Soviet relations with China.

In short, as observers see it, although Bush's current visit to the three countries in the Asia-Pacific region will not produce any major result, it is still of great significance, including giving indications of the final direction of the new U.S. Administration's foreign policy. We hope the Bush administrative will pursue a consistently realistic foreign policy to the benefit of the people of the region.

U.S. Senate Passes Resolution on Aid to Armenia

LD2402045589 Moscow TASS in English 0618 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 23 TASS—The U.S. Senate passed without vote count on Wednesday [22 February] a resolution on aid to earthquake-hit Armenia. The resolution calls upon U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to submit to Congress not later than April 1 a report on American aid to the earthquake victims, which came both from government and private sources, ways of accelerating the sending of private American aid to Armenia.

The report should consider a possibility of forming a special Aid-to-Soviet Armenia Group, involving government experts and specialists from private organisations.

Soviet-U.S. Friendship Force Meets in Moscow

LD2202235189 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 21 Feb 89

["USSR-U.S.: People's Diplomacy in Action"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—"We are meeting within the framework of people's diplomacy, of a dialogue between people of different political convictions, ages and professions. Such meetings promote the erosion of the 'enemy image' and destroy the ice of mistrust between nations", said Vladimir Ulyanov, head of the youth commission of the USSR-U.S. society, at the opening of a Soviet-American meeting.

This friendly exchange of views on topical problems of Soviet-American relations, culture and education between a group of Americans from the Friendship Force organization and young Muscovites, members of the USSR-U.S. society, was organized by the Union of Friendship Societies.

Hartwell Davis from Washington said in a TASS interview that during his visit he would like to talk with as many people as possible in order to understand what Soviet people worry about, what they think of, because peace on earth can be established if we forget what divides us and find what can unite our two countries. Davis and his wife Nancy told the meeting about the U.S. education system and asked about the situation in the Soviet education system.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the visit of the American delegation would help specify a programme of exchanges to be organized by Friendship Force, as well as the subjects of future discussions and meetings.

Representatives of Friendship Force will visit Kazakhstan, a Soviet Asian republic, and Leningrad.

Exchanges of delegations between the USSR-U.S. society and Friendship Force have been held regularly since 1980. Fifteen delegations were sent by both organisations on a currency-free basis in the past year and a half. 320 people from both sides managed to familiarise themselves with the life of their host country during these visits.

Alaska Governor Comments on Magadan Visit

LD2302101289 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Juneau (Alaska) February 23 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

The Alaska legislative assembly interrupted its session on Wednesday to greet a delegation from the Magadan region. The House of Representatives and the Senate, which were informed about perestroyka in the Soviet Union, favour the development of multilateral relations with their neighbours across the Bering Strait. On the same day the Soviet delegation discussed the expansion of contacts in trade, culture, science and other areas with Alaska Governor Steve Cowper.

We attach great significance to the Soviet delegation's visit, the Alaska governor told TASS. We have closer relations with our Soviet friends than other American states and are ready to further develop and consolidate relations in many areas.

Cowper said he was sure that the road being followed led to peace and friendship and better mutual understanding between the peoples of our two countries.

The governor said that on Wednesday he had a meeting with President Bush and Secretary of State Baker. He informed them about the negotiations with the Soviet delegation in Alaska and touched upon prospects of wider relations with the Magadan region. Both the President and the secretary of state favourably responded to what the governor said and made it clear that the new U.S. Administration intended to use in full the Reagan administration's positive experience in the development of Soviet-American relations.

Northeast Asia

Lukyanov Hears Takeshita on Territorial Issue

OW2302134689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita in Tokyo yesterday.

At their meeting the main topic of discussion was prospects for development of Soviet-Japanese relations. The two sides agreed to continue efforts to prepare for General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan.

Meanwhile, according to a report by an informational source, Prime Minister Takeshita, while saying that as a matter of principle he desires the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty, again brought up a territorial demand to the Soviet Union as a condition for it.

On the same day, First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov also met with Japanese Foreign Minister Uno. At the meeting, the Soviet side called on the Japanese side to take action to strengthen security and cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region.

Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, is now on a visit to Japan to take part in the funeral for Empreor Showa.

Comparison of Lukyanov-Takeshita Talks

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 23 February 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the continuation of the visit to Tokyo by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to attend Emperor Hirohito's funeral. This item, headlined "Visit to Tokyo," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version of the item published in the 23 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 22-23 under the subhead "Talks With Takeshita," revealing the following variations:

page 23, column one, from last paragraph, only sentence, PRAVDA version reads: On the same day, Lukyanov held talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno and Secretary General of the Liberal Democratic Party Shintaro Abe, in the course of which a thorough exchange of opinions took place on the upcoming Soviet-Japanese contacts this year at foreign minister level and also regarding the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party delegation's visit to the Soviet Union.

A.I. Lukyanov also had conversations with K. Hara and Y. Tsutiya, speakers of the chambers of Japan's Diet, which centered on questions of further broadening interparliamentary ties. (rephrasing sentence, adding paragraph)

Lukyanov-Nakasone Meeting Notes 'Differences'

PM2402141389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Soviet-Japanese Contacts"]

[Text] Tokyo, 23 Feb—Today A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is currently here, had a meeting with Y. Nakasone, a prominent figure in Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party. During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of frankness and amicability, the international situation was reviewed with the emphasis on the present state of Soviet-Japanese relations and ways to improve them. [Moscow TASS in English at 2156 GMT on 23 February carries a similar report on the Lukyanov-Nakasone meeting, which characterizes the meeting as follows: "During a conversation which passed in the atmosphere of openness and benevolence, the international situation was reviewed..."] It was stated, in particular, that even under conditions of the existing differences over particular issues, given the sides' goodwill and interest there are solid preconditions and possibilities for promoting mutually advantageous ties in various spheres.

[Moscow TASS in English at this point adds: "It was, specifically, noted that given goodwill and interest of the sides, there are solid prerequisites and possibilities for furthering mutually-advantageous relations in various areas even when there are differences on some or other matters."]

Y. Nakasone expressed confidence in the ultimate success of restructuring, which is gathering momentum in the USSR. In his opinion, this will have a beneficial impact on the international situation and, undoubtedly, on relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

A.I. Lukyanov had talks with the leadership of the parliamentary Japanese-Soviet Friendship Association. Prominent deputies of Japan's parliament—Y. Sakurauchi, B. Hara, K. Kadoya, F. Abe, I. Hatoyama, and T. Tsushima—participated in them. The talks devoted special attention to the importance of setting up contacts among various commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Japanese parliament. Both sides noted the increasing role of people's diplomacy, which is helping to deepen mutual understanding between the peoples. In this connection, the participants in the talks supported the idea of expanding direct, mutually advantageous ties between the USSR's Far Eastern regions and Japan's nearby prefectures.

Japan Supports Middle East Peace Conference

LD2402072289 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 23 TASS—Japan supports calls for an international Middle East peace conference, said the Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita during a meeting with the Egyptian President Husni Mubarak who arrived in Tokyo to attend the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

The head of the Japanese Government stressed the necessity of participation of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). He also welcomed the beginning of the direct talks between the U.S. and PLO. Takeshita said that Japan is interested in peace in the Middle East and is ready to make its own contribution to help solve the problem.

The Egyptian president said that Japan will work to bring the conflicting sides closer.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage on Reaction to 2d Jakarta Meeting

Nguyen Co Thach Sees 'Big Success'

BK2402063189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] The delegations to the second Jakarta Informal Meeting [JIM-2] on a solution to the Cambodian problem are now leaving the Indonesian capital. The delegations of the PRK and the three warring Cambodian groups and the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos, and the six ASEAN countries are carrying in their diplomatic bags a document called: Statement of the Chairman of the Informal Meeting on the Consensus of All Parties Concerned.

Speaking to newsmen following the Jakarta meeting, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Co Thach emphasized his attitude regarding the above-mentioned document as follows:

Before the talks began, much pessimism was expressed, but now that we have surmounted all obstacles and with the chairman of the meeting's consensus statement in our hand, we can see clearly that the Jakarta meeting is a big success.

The first informal meeting held in Bogor in July last year was marked by the common points that both sides promised to observe in any future settlement—that is, the possibility of settling the problem through political means and not through military means; the future of Cambodia as an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state; and having the settlement take into account the interests of all parties. Later on, this position has been successively strengthened at talks and bilateral consultations.

As mentioned in the consensus document issued by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, chairman of the second meeting in Jakarta, all these principles—which are internationally approved and recognized—have now become a common basis for all parties to settle their internal problems. It was noted in the document that the cease-fire would be effective immediately after the Cambodian parties could reach a political settlement of their internal problems, and this would be immediately followed by the withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia. The withdrawal would be completed on 30 September 1989 at the latest.

The Vietnamese delegation also stated that this troop withdrawal could be completed even before this schedule, depending on the developments of the process of national reconciliation in Cambodia. At the same time, military aid to the warring Cambodian groups must be ceased and concrete measures must be taken to prevent the recurrence of the Pol Pot regime's genocidal policy and acts.

Both sides agreed on the need for the establishment of an international control mechanism to monitor the fulfillment of the agreement on cease-fire, cessation of military aid, withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers, and the holding of free and democratic elections. They have also planned to convene an international conference on Cambodia.

As we have seen at the second informal meeting, only enough could be accomplished when one could confidently talk about the irreversibility of the process to normalize the situation in Cambodia and the national reconciliation. However, still unresolved is the issue of the shape of the provisional four-party government for national reconciliation on the eve of the general elections.

Receiving JIM-2 participants, Indonesian President Suharto said that the four Cambodian groups seemed to be on the same road but they still moved on this road separately. President Suharto added that if, in the interests of national reconciliation, they could quickly surmount their differences, they would quickly reach a common goal and thus sign an agreement on the internal and external aspects of the regional conflict that has dragged on for 10 years.

Solution to this conflict would certainly bring peace and stability to the whole of Southeast Asia.

Hun Sen Views 'Success' of Talks

BK2402052189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] According to TASS, Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK delegation and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, has said that during the second Jakarta Informal Meeting [JIM-2]—held 19-21 February—all Cambodian parties achieved concrete success in the search for a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

Speaking at a news conference, Comrade Hun Sen pointed out that although there were still serious differences of opinion on the internal aspects of the problem, the participants could reach agreement on ways of achieving common goals. The exchange of views had reduced differences of opinion and broadened the possibilities for convergence. This is the success of the goodwill of all countries in the region. The ASEAN and Indochinese countries have turned from confrontation to dialogue in the cause of solving the conflict in Cambodia.

Comrade Hun Sen said the results of this meeting would certainly contribute to consolidating mutual trust and mutual understanding among countries in Southeast Asia, and to expanding mutually beneficial cooperation in the region. This is a good basis for normalizing the situation.

Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, has said that talks will continue. He reiterated readiness to meet with the warring Cambodian groups at any time and at any place.

The comrade also commented on the convening of the final stage of the informal meeting in Jakarta in July this year.

Thai Prime Minister's Indochina Policy Praised

BK1702105989 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] Southeast Asia sees the current head of the Thai Government as having played a role in the positive changes in Thai foreign policy. A French paper has said: Influenced by the new prime minister, General Chatchai Chunhawan, the time is ripe for Thailand to make a sharp turn in its policy on Indochina. The turn is from a confrontational line, which was influenced from abroad, to the forging of stable, friendlier ties with neighboring countries.

It is to be expected that an assessment of Gen Chatchai's policy by Thais and foreigners would be one-sided. However, most comments basically view present Thai policy as being dictated by the current trend and corresponding with the national interests of Thailand and other countries in the region.

It is only recently that Gen Chatchai appealed for transformation of the battlefield in Indochina into a marketplace, but considerable achievements have already become evident. Thailand's border with its eastern neighbors, which has resembled a battle line for the past 10 years, has now changed completely. Thailand's relations with Laos have been revived practically in all aspects, including the dispute over the common border, leaving only minor issues to be resolved by the joint Thai-Lao committee. Trade, economic, and cultural cooperation have been concretely developed. Thailand has invited Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan to visit this month.

A much more complicated problem is relations with the PRK, which Thailand does not officially recognize. For this reason, PRK Premier Hun Sen's recent informal visit to Bangkok was much publicized news. His visit lasted only 3 days but scored many achievements. First, the two sides reached an accord on the expansion of bilateral trade and economic contacts. Comments in Thai circles say Hun Sen's visit concretely proved Gen Chatchai's determination to discard the old formula that subordinates trade to political relations—the formula that obviously caused the Thai business sector to suffer considerably in the past.

The second achievement is more important as far as regional interests are concerned. Combined efforts are being made to help end the decade-old Cambodian conflict as soon as possible. Speaking to newsmen, Professor Sukhumphan Boriphat, an adviser to the Thai prime minister, said: We have launched a psychological offensive by contacting the Cambodian leadership directly in order to learn what it wants and how far it is willing go to achieve reconciliation in Cambodia.

It is a fact that it takes more than one side to achieve reconciliation. With this observation in mind, Gen Chatchai has exerted efforts to make the Cambodian resistance elements realize this fact, and made the Cambodian refugees realize that their boycott of the upcoming Jakarta informal meeting [JIM] in Indonesia on 19 February would place them at an acute disadvantage. Gen Chatchai said the three Cambodian refugee factions' refusal to sit down at the negotiating table with Premier Hun Sen, who appealed in Bangkok for an end to Cambodians killing each other, could lead the world community to conclude that they wanted the bloodshed to continue.

Public opinion feels the Thai-Cambodian talks achieved significant results and gave a stronger impetus to the second JIM. Despite voices of anxiety, Thailand has not been relegated to the lower rung of parties searching for a solution to the Cambodian conflict. Thailand's initiative has not only shortened the time for reaching a settlement, but the country has also gained the international community's increased confidence. The Thai leadership has proved through deeds, not just words, that it can play a role compatible with the new line of political thinking prevalent in current world political relations.

Its action has not pleased everyone in Thailand or abroad. Some sectors have even shown their displeasure publicly. The head of the U.S. diplomatic mission in Thailand reportedly complained that changes in Thai policy are so sudden that he could not follow them. It is too bad for that U.S. diplomat because he has not been able to keep up with the world trend. It could be that his complaint is the result of his persistent adherence to the old, inflexible formula. Today, such a formula no longer has any strength and could push the user off the political road.

Philippine Trade Secretary Discusses USSR Ties

HK1702033589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 16 Feb 89

[Text] Philippine Minister [as heard] of Trade and Industry Jose Concepcion says he hopes during his visit to the Soviet Union in mid-March to work for the expansion of trade and commercial relations between

the Soviet Union and the Philippines. In an interview with a correspondent of the Soviet news agency TASS, Concepcion emphasized that the main purpose of his visit is to establish agreements for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between both countries. According to the minister, the Philippine target is for a trade volume with the Soviet Union of $200 million this year, which is almost 5 times higher than the present trade level. To achieve this, the Philippines is prepared to set up a commission for joint ventures in trade and livelihood projects to be implemented in the near future.

Ramos on U.S. Nuclear Arms in Philippines
HK1902055289 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Philippine Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos has announced that the Philippine Government has a definite and firm policy on the question regarding the storage and installation of nuclear weapons in the country. He made these remarks in a speech he gave at the U.S. Subic Naval Base.

The question of the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons on Philippine territory is one of the most heated issues in Philippines-U.S. relations. The United States has never confirmed nor denied the presence of such weapons in its military bases.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze-Arens News Conference Reported
LD2302160289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2050 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] An hour ago, in the "Vremya" newscast, you saw a report by our special correspondent in Cairo, where meetings took place today between Comrade Shevardnadze on the one hand, and PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, on the other. Here are clips from an improvised news-conference that took place at the insistence of the journalists, one might say, immediately after Eduard Amvrosiyevch Shevardnadze's talk with the Israeli minister. [video shows journalists with outstretched microphones, then Shevardnadze answering their questions]

[Shevardnadze, in Russian, followed by English translation] Fundamentally, we are agreed on the continuation, the need for continuation of contacts. I would say that the State of Isarel is a most important factor in this process. Without Israel's goodwill, there cannot be any talk about settling the conflict. That's one aspect of the real situation. Another aspect is that without the Soviet Union there cannot be any peace process, either. We accept this, and therefore it is very important that dialogue continues. We have begun this process of dialogue.

[Unidentified reporter] Have you come any closer on the matter of an international conference?

[Arens, in English, followed by Russian translation] I think we are in the process of building a foundation of understanding each other's positions, even at a time when these positions are not identical.

[Shevardnadze] We were talking frankly, very frankly, but you touched on the matter of a peace conference. Let me say that I agree with the minister that this is not a simple question, and even if we ourselves agree today, that does not yet mean that there will be a conference, because we have to consider the views of all sides, of the Arab countries, of the permanent members of the Security Council, and the European Community, which is very interested. This is a question requiring further study and work.

[Arens] We acknowledge that we (?know) how to do it.

[Unidentified reporter] Is there any coordination with the United States on the question of a rapprochement in the Middle East?

[Shevardnadze] We spoke about that, about future contacts with the United States and other states. The next meeting at ministerial level is to take place on 6 March. I am to have a meeting with Mr Baker, and certainly we will discuss many aspects of the Middle East settlement. There will also be other contacts. Active creative work is beginning.

Comparison of Shevardnadze-Arens Talks

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 23 February 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report headlined "Ministers Meet in Cairo" on the meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Israeli Foreign Minister Arens. This item has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Russian version of the article published in the 23 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT p 30, revealing the following variations:

column one, paragraph one, only sentence, PRAVDA version reads: ...Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met today with... (deleting words).

column two, from paragraph one, last sentence to paragraph two, first sentence, PRAVDA version reads: ...of the Palestinians, and the permanent members of the UN Security Council. E.A. Shevardnadze set forth in detail the Soviet side's ideas on possible ways and means of preparing for the conference.

M. Arens repeated Israel's well-known position concerning the convening of an international conference and contacts with the PLO. At the same time, he acknowledged the need to settle the Near East conflict by political means and also noted the role the Soviet Union could play in this process.

It is clear from the Israeli minister's statements that Tel Aviv realizes that Israel's current position on a Near East settlement has certain drawbacks [izvestnyye izderzhki] internationally. This, we must assume, will encourage Israel to reflect on whether certain amendments ought to be made to certain aspects of its approach.

In this connection... (adding passage)

Shevardnadze Says PLO Must Be Included in Talks
TA2302120089 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 23 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Dan Avidan in Cairo on 22 February]

[Excerpt] Cairo—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told DAVAR last night that the USSR will not agree to Palestinian representatives from the territories participating instead of PLO delegates in political negotiations to find a solution to the Palestinian problem. He also said that in the USSR's view, negotiations will have to include both PLO representatives and representatives from the territories, who in his view comprise two parts of the same people the PLO represents. Shevardnadze made the remarks to the DAVAR correspondent after his meeting with 'Arafat, which was held at the Soviet Embassy in Cairo, and lasted almost 3 hours. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Speech, 'Arafat Talks Viewed
LD2402002189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze's trip to countries of the Near and Middle East is continuing. Our special correspondent reports from Cairo.

[F.Seyful-Mulyukov] Not for a long time has the conference hall of the ruling National Democratic Party seen such animation. Prominent Egyptian political and public figures, parliamentary deputies, and journalists from many countries have assembled here. They have come to meet USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. There have been various things, both good and bad, in the history and destinies of the Soviet and Egyptian peoples, Comrade Shevardnadze said. We have overcome that which was not good, and we shall develop and augment the good things. Soviet-Egyptian relations have been put onto an even path, through joint efforts; clear horizons lie ahead of us.

In his speech to this authoritative Egyptian audience, the USSR foreign minister talked about the Soviet leadership's approach to the fundamental issues of a Near East settlement. These problems have been discussed in depth during Comrade Shevardnadze's talks in Damascus, Amman, and here in Cairo. Much of what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke about at the United Nations, the head of the Soviet delegation stressed, can be applied to the situation in the Near East—above all, freedom of choice. In the past the world community helped create the State of Israel. Now, Israel is not entitled to refuse freedom of choice to the Palestinians living on the West Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. The pyramids will disappear before the ties pulling the Palestinians toward their native hearth do. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize a balance of interests between Israel and its Arab neighbours in order to establish stable peace in the Near East. The Palestinians, who are taking constructive steps on the road toward a Near East settlement, must realize their legitimate right to self-determination. Steps toward them from Israel are necessary now. [video shows Shevardnadze entering hall and speaking from rostrum]

All this was also talked about in detail during Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's meeting yesterday with Yasir 'Arafat and other Palestinian leaders. When that meeting finished, the USSR foreign minister and the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee answered journalists' questions. [video shows Shevardnadze and 'Arafat talking and laughing before a set of microphones]

In an interview for the "Vremya" program, Yasir 'Arafat said:

[Begin 'Arafat recording in Arabic, fading into Russian report] I am deeply satisfied with the results of the talks with Comrade Shevardnadze. They were a continuation of the conversation that took place in Moscow last year with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Ways and means of achieving a just and stable peace in the Near East have been discussed at Soviet-Palestinian meetings: A peace founded on consideration for the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, Israel, and the Arab states. A Near East settlement, Yasir 'Arafat stressed, would be of paramount importance, not only for the destiny of our region, but also for ensuring international security. The Palestinian people, the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee said in conclusion, value highly the support rendered their just struggle by the Soviet Union. [end recording] [video shows 'Arafat, standing beside Shevardnadze, talking into microphone held by Seyful-Mulyukov]

[Begin recording] [Seyful-Mulyukov] After your meetings in Cairo, in particular with Yasir 'Arafat and Moshe Arens, has your conviction been strengthened that the chances for reaching a compromise between Israel and its Arab neighbours have grown?

[Shevardnadze] I have formed the impression that definitely, after the well-known major initiatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization, after the 19th national conference and Comrade 'Arafat's well-known speech, new possibilities and new chances have appeared for accelerating the process, the preparatory process, toward a conference, a peace conference. I think the question of preparations for a conference is now on a real foundation. We devoted our main attention to that very problem. We defined ways and stages for such preparatory work. We believe that such a platform has been put forward, a platform for a settlement—I mean the statement made today by Comrade 'Arafat in this area. Now we must all, combining our efforts with both Europe, the United States, the permanent members of the Security Council, and the whole world, move toward a conference. And the preparatory work has been put in the foreground. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Cairo Speech on Mideast Conflict

PM2402104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Near East: Chance for a Historic Compromise"]

[Text] Cairo, 23 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit, today addressed an assembly of representatives of the Egyptian public.

Esteemed Mr Chairman:

Ladies and gentlemen:

I thank you for the warm reception and kind words accorded us.

Your sympathy places a great obligation on me, in particular not to disappoint you.

For myself, I have decided to focus attention on the problems of the Near East, and of a Near East settlement.

I understand that I am undertaking a difficult job, not only because I am speaking before a very qualified audience, but also because I am doing this in Cairo, in a city of high political culture, where the problems of peace and the Near East were discussed thousands of years before people elsewhere were aware that the world and the Near East existed.

Here on the banks of the Nile, one perceives with particular intensity a spiritual closeness to the roots of the great civilization of Egypt, which has given the world and humanity so much.

Here also one becomes convinced through one's own eyes that the new Egypt, having carefully received the legacy of the past, is bringing new values to the present day, seeing its role in strengthening Arab unity and peace in the Near East.

We speak of this not as peripheral observers. The Soviet Union and Egypt have undergone difficult years and difficult tests side-by-side. In the history and destiny of the Soviet and Egyptian peoples too many common bonds have been tied from them to be forgotten. There have been different things in our relations both the good and the not-good. That which was not good we have overcome, and the good we shall develop and multiply. Out of past experience we have gained a better understanding of each other, which has opened the way to calm and smooth mutual relations.

This allows me to hope to be properly understood.

Our meeting is taking place after a series of very useful, interesting conversations and talks that we have held in Damascus, Amman, and here, in Cairo. At their center, naturally, were the problems of a Near East settlement.

As you know, we have passed on to the leaders of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan personal messages from Mikhail Gorbachev. On the basis of the thoughts contained in these messages and at discussions held in the capitals of three Arab states, including at the meeting with the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee as well as with the Israeli foreign minister, I would like to talk today about the Soviet leadership's vision of the overall context of the Near East conflict and ways of resolving it.

I consider it necessary to express the immediate reservation that we do not know of any magic formula, we are not striving to acquire one, and are not offering universal remedies.

We realize that the conflict that has lasted for decades and given rise to five bitter wars has extremely deep roots and a multitude of difficult aspects.

But what follows from this? Is it the conclusion that the conflict is completely beyond solution? Or that it cannot be resolved by the means that have been used to date?

Before replying, it is essential to reveal the core of the problem that must be resolved. If one frees it of the residue of distorted ideas and hypertrophied emotions, then it is about what should be done to ensure that two peoples can live in one common historical homeland and implement the fundamental provision of international law about the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by the use of force.

A fundamental solution was found a long time ago in 1947 in UN General Assembly resolution 181 that approved a plan for the partition of Palestine. In the realities of today, the task is one of ensuring that the

Palestinian people can realize their right to self-determination, that the Arabs should have restored to them the land that was taken away, and that the Israeli state should be guaranteed the right of secure existence within recognized borders.

Reason will not accept the idea that this task cannot be resolved. And the same reason, backed up by bitter historical experience, indicates that no one side in the conflict can achieve its aims by force. Relying on force will inevitably lead to more wars that are increasingly bloody and destructive.

The Near East is a museum of lost civilizations. If a peaceful political and all-embracing solution is not found to the Arab-Israel conflict, the development of events in the region may spiral, becoming twisted by the logic of military confrontation. The region is threatened by an arms race which, sooner or later, may grow into a nuclear catastrophe.

As a result, it cannot be ruled out that Israel and its neighbors will condemn themselves to repeating the path along which East-West nuclear rivalry developed. That they will ascend the predictable rungs of the ladder of nuclear escalation. If this happens, future archaeologists will find yet another layer of buried civilization in the Near East.

At best, the sides will come to realize after a while the need for a compromise settlement and will begin to implement it, but under immeasurably more dangerous and complex conditions than now.

In the Near East, time is on the side of war rather than peace. Preservation of the status quo leads to an explosion rather than tranquility.

I am not saying all this to moralize. We can be said to be sharing our experience, given our knowledge of the consequences of confrontation, dogmatic approaches, and the over-ideologization of interstate relations.

I think that a great deal of what M.S. Gorbachev said in his speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session may also be applied to the situation in the Near East and its problems.

This applies above all to a realization of the **universality and compulsory nature of the principle of freedom of choice.** The world community once helped the Jewish people exercise their freedom of choice—to create the state of Israel.

When the Soviet Union voted in favor of this, it expressed its respect not only for the sacred right to self-determination, but also for a people who have left a profound imprint on the history of mankind's endeavors and discoveries.

Israel has no right now to deny freedom of choice to the Palestinian people. By preventing Palestinian self-determination, Israel is by no means strengthening but, on the contrary, undermining both its security as a state and the legitimacy of its own self-determination.

In our opinion, the key that can open the way to a Near East settlement is recognition of the **principle of a balance of interests** as the only possible principle in interstate, international, and interethnic relations.

In fact, any settlement consists of this: establishing through talks a balance of interests as the opposite and antipode of a balance of power.

A balance of power does not and cannot provide security; even military superiority does not ensure security, because any measurements of military might and force are temporary, transient concepts. Only a balance of interests and rights creates a durable and stable basis for states to coexist without conflicts and for normal relations and mutually beneficial cooperation to be maintained and developed between them.

While thinking about this, one cannot help asking how long the Arab-Israeli conflict can remain unresolved. Can it really be supposed that any solution is possible other than one that would satisfy the Palestinians and give them the opportunity to exercise their own inalienable right to self-determination?

The pyramids may disappear sooner than the Palestinians' craving for their native hearth. The intifadah [the Palestinian uprising], which has gained such a broad scale and intensity, confirms this. And can one really suppose that the other people, the Israelis, will agree to place their own existence under threat?

The world is changing. Today it is changing faster than ever, and politically it is changing in a direction that only yesterday seemed unlikely.

Look how easily we get used to new realities. The destruction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear missiles is perceived as natural, as proper. The mutual inspections of military activity both under the Stockholm accords and in keeping with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on liquidating intermediate and shorter-range missiles are being carried out in a routine fashion.

In many countries the numerical strength of troops and armaments is being cut, spending on military needs is being reduced. In a couple of weeks the talks on disarmament and confidence-building measures in the military sphere in Europe will begin. They will take place against the background of the implementation of radical reductions in Soviet armed forces.

But in the Near East, as, incidentally, in other places, too, many think as before, that everything can be solved with the help of arms.

Let's be frank: There are people who believe that the great powers are not overly vexed about the lack of a settlement of the Near East situation. Allegedly, they earn quite a lot of money from arms sales in the region, and they are not too worried about the consequences.

I would like to say, in any case, on behalf of my own country that this is not so. Upheavals in the Near East always affect us very strongly. The Soviet people are especially sensitive to anything that happens here, because tension in this region costs us dearly, in all respects, including materially.

Now the hope of a radical improvement in the international climate has appeared, important agreements have been concluded on arms reductions. Ahead of us, more large-scale accords are emerging on reducing military confrontation both in Europe and in Asia. This trend is becoming universal and determinant in present-day developments. But the historical process of disarmament may come to a standstill because of lack of movement in the Near East.

However, there is movement—in the opposite direction; in the direction of accelerating the arms race. The scales of the race are such that they go far beyond the framework of the region.

Judge for yourselves. To date, the scale of direct military expenditures in the region has risen to third place in the world—after NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In 1987 this expenditure amounted to $59 billion. But while in these two military-political alliances an understanding of the danger of being armed to the teeth is taking root, in the Near East, on the other hand, the false idea that is today being rejected everywhere still predominates: the more arms, the more reliable the security.

A military potential has been developed in the Near East that far exceeds its real economic and demographic weight in the world.

Twenty-five thousand tanks, more than 4,000 aircraft in the combat formations of the sides, about 5 million—and taking reserve troops into account, 7 million—people under arms, and $600 billion aimed for a decade at military preparations in the region do not mean that a limit has been set for the arms race. Rather, the reverse.

The region accounts for 61 percent of world arms exports. And the results? They are horrific. The Iran-Iraq war alone, causing the irrevocable loss of 1 million human lives, devoured $500 billion, which is about half of the foreign debt of the developing countries. But even this is not yet all. Weapons such as, for example, shorter and medium-range missiles, which we and the United States are completely eliminating, are appearing in the region. And, incidentally, being deployed in the Near East, they represent a threat both to the Soviet Union and to the countries of Europe, and to the interests of the United States.

It is precisely because the Near East is becoming a very serious obstacle to the further development of the disarmament process with which the majority of the peoples of the world link their hopes for a better future, and is becoming a threat to them, that it is necessary to internationalize the search for a solution, for a Near East settlement.

In the absence of such an approach, however, complications may arise in relations between the Near East and a large part of the rest of the world.

I understand that this argument may not be accepted in the region. It is impossible, however, not to take account of the fact that such a factor has already emerged in politics today, and tomorrow it will begin to operate. It will hardly be useful and convenient for the states of the Near East to set themselves against universal human interests.

Sometimes the following argument may be heard: In order to eliminate the arms race, it is necessary to remove the cause of the conflict. Others, however, say: So long as there is an arms race, there will also be conflict.

This argument may appear academic. In our view, it should be a dual, parallel process: of curtailing the arms race, and, at the same time, a process of peaceful settlement removing the causes of the conflict situation.

For many long years a long list of regional conflicts have been enumerated at all international forums, and time and again the absence of any kind of moves to resolve them has been registered.

And so the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan have been signed, and today there is already not a single Soviet soldier in this country.

The Iran-Iraq war, which lasted for 8 years, is coming to an end, albeit with difficulty. Nevertheless, diplomatic talks are being struck up and are proceeding.

Agreements on a settlement in southern Africa are being concluded, and the go-ahead is being given to implementation of the UN plan to grant independence to the people of Namibia.

The time for the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is drawing near, and many states are beginning to actively cooperate to facilitate peace and national reconciliation in this country.

And fruitful dialogue is being conducted in Central America.

Encouraging news is coming from the Western Sahara, where it appears that a political mechanism to settle the conflict has begun to work.

There is positive movement on the Korean peninsula.

The same can be said of matters concerning Cyprus.

Well, and what can one say about the Near East? For all the noticeable change in the situation, it has to be said: So far, constructive steps have been taken only by one side—by the Palestinians. This, of course, is not enough. Responsive steps by Israel are required.

Will the Near East really lag behind the times and drop out of the general tendency of world politics?

Why should the parties in the Near East conflict not look at the experience of others? After all, there is much in it that is instructive and useful.

In the settlement of each conflict situation, the question of the balance of interests is specifically resolved. In these specific matters, however, general rules can be identified, too.

First, a dialogue between the parties is arranged via intermediaries. The negotiations themselves are also conducted with their assistance. In certain cases the United Nations acts as the intermediary (one typical example of this is Iran and Iraq, and Afghanistan is another); in other cases, groups of countries (Contadora, the support group, the ASEAN countries), or individual states.

Second, the withdrawal of the forces of a country taking part in the conflict is balanced by political treaty obligations safeguarding its interests. This approach can be seen in the Afghan, southern African, and Cambodian situations.

Third, a guarantee system is used. The role of guarantors of fulfillment of the agreements is undertaken by the great powers, and also by the United Nations, which monitors the observance by the sides of the conditions of the agreements.

These are not just ideas, but actual components of real agreements in real conflicts.

Profound changes are taking place around the Near East conflict, too. Never before has there been such a wide international agreement, not only that it should be solved politically, but also as regards the path to such a solution.

The UN General Assembly and all the permanent members of the Security Council—the USSR, the United States, Britain, France and China - favor the convening of an international conference on the Near East. The European Community is working actively in this direction. All the Arab sides consider such a forum necessary and see no other way of starting the settlement process. In effect, it is Israel alone that stands in opposition to this idea, and this cannot fail to arouse doubts about its own statements that it wishes to live in peace with its neighbors.

But all the same, practice shows that in the course of dialogue and negotiations, formulas can be found for solving the most acute and complex questions. I shall say more about this later, based on the experience of our contacts with the Israelis. But at this point I should like to stress: In the Near East, it is not only Israel that is concerned about security problems, but to no less degree, all of its neighbors are concerned. It is understandable, therefore, that all the sides in the Near East settlement, including the Palestinians, would like to have firm guarantees that no attack will be made on them.

It stands to reason that each side has the right to have its own concepts of the reliability of such guarantees. But it seems to us that the already-approved international practice, including the practice of regional settlements, makes it possible to compile a package of obligations and verification measures that can satisfy the most exacting requirements and create the necessary conviction that security is safeguarded.

There is no doubt that future guarantors could make commitments with respect to specific measures that would be taken by them in the event of a threat of violation of the future agreements.

It is, perhaps, premature to talk about this now, but in principle, if one looks to the future, such tasks could be successfully tackled by a regional center for the reduction of military danger.

We cannot see why the parties to a future Arab-Israeli settlement would not be able to employ mutual inspections and on-site inspections [proverka], including inspections of suspect sites with a short advance notice.

They would make it possible to remove those suspicions that are straining the situation more than anything else at the present time, namely suspicions relating to work connected with the possible creation [sozdaniye] of nuclear and chemical weapons.

A decision to declare the Near East a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons would also assist in this. There is a proposal on this score and it must be promoted.

In the Near East the principle of creating fully demilitarised zones, as well as zones with a depleted military presence along temporary demarcation lines and along recognized borders, has already been used. Such zones can in the future, too, fulfill an important function in terms of preventing sudden attacks and relieving the system of mutual and international verification [kontrol].

There is considerable experience in using international verification [kontrol] mechanisms here, too.

And, of course, it is difficult to count on a dialogue achieving results without precise commitments from the sides that they will neither directly nor indirectly encourage terrorism and other subversive activities against one another in any forms. Commitments on this score should envisage verification [proverka] measures and cooperation measures that are sufficient to create the appropriate confidence that they are being observed honestly.

I am talking about these elements of a possible settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to show that it is possible to find a balance of interests between the conflicting sides and to satisfy their legitimate demands.

If we examine possible options for resolving one specific problem or other relating to a settlement, then we see that there are many of them. In other words, there are already numerous separate little bricks, elements, with which, given the desire, it is possible to build a firm edifice of Near East peace.

This means that it is a question of a choice between preserving the present situation and searching for a compromise that is acceptable to all.

But it is impossible to preserve the present situation—for anyone, either for the Palestinians, or the Arabs, or for Israel itself. There is essentially no alternative to reconciliation and a settlement. There is none, and not only for military and economic reasons.

In the present-day world, the concept of the humanization of international relations, the universality and indivisibility of human rights, and the primacy of law is asserting itself.

Israel's holding of the Arab territories that were occupied in 1967, the regime that has been established on them, and the actions of the Israeli authorities aimed at suppressing the political and civil liberties of Palestinians will inevitably lead to Israel's isolation in the community of nations, and to a loss of support for it even from its staunchest friends. And just as naturally, the question will arise of the use of sanctions against Israel as a country that is flouting the rights of civilians on a mass scale.

Now, when the PLO has proclaimed its state, accepted UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and renounced terrorism, Israel no longer has even the appearance of a pretext for refusing to enter into a dialogue with an organization recognised by the international community as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Of course, Israel can continue to brazen it out with its refusal to talk to the Palestinians. But then it must also take into account that very many states in the world may refuse to talk to it, too.

It is a particular feature of the Near East conflict that it is exceptionally complex in its history, in the number of sides involved in it, in its numerous political aspects, and in its psychological intractability. The nature of the conflict suggests that its solution must be all-embracing, based on a multilateral dialogue and on negotiations at several levels simultaneously.

It is for this reason that the firm conviction exists that a Near East settlement should be approached through collective international efforts.

The issue of the form of the international conference on the Near East, what it should deal with, how it should work, and who should take part in it gives rise to discussions.

These are all legitimate questions for each of the future participants in this forum. And, obviously, answers must be given to them that are acceptable to all.

These answers will not appear of their own accord. They must be discussed and compromise variants found. This is the main task today.

In the course of our tour and conversations with representatives of the sides involved in the conflict, we tried, above all, to consult on means of working out the necessary recommendations.

There is no more important task now than to begin specific preparation to convene the international conference. In our opinion, this work should be conducted in the form of flexible and multichannel mechanisms that would be of an authoritative nature.

It is for this reason that we propose conducting it through informal discussions in the UN Security Council, through unofficial consultations between its five permanent members, and through a multilateral and bilateral dialogue between the sides interested in a settlement, conducted either directly or through intermediaries. In this way it will be possible to produce a definite understanding, acceptable to all parties, of the basic parameters of the international conference on the Near East. This work, obviously, must have a time limit and be completed in the course of 6 to 9 months.

At the same time, it is essential to remember that at this stage it is a matter of instituting an instrument for a Near East Settlement, not of elaborating its parameters. But even at this stage, it is necessary to resolve matters of principle. These are, in our view, the political and juridical basis of the conference and the participation of the Palestinians in it.

As for all the other aspects of this international forum, it is best to leave them for consideration by the conference itself. The main thing now is to commence the process of peaceful negotiations, without deciding beforehand the forms it may take in the course of the conference itself by

the desire and agreement of its participants, and without establishing any linkages between separate elements of possible accords, other than those concerning which the negotiating parties themselves reach agreement.

I have already referred to the existing experience of resolving regional conflict situations. It convinces one that in all events, intermediaries are needed of the sort that will take pains to ensure that the threads of talks and dialogue do not break, and that the talking process proceeds without halts and intervals.

An international conference, in fact, is such a collective intermediary. But not only an intermediary. In setting up something akin to an insurance network guaranteeing the talks against collapse, it will facilitate the resolution of many regional matters.

To start a dialogue and to maintain it is not easy. What is needed here is help from elsewhere.

We would consider it expedient and timely to establish, attached to the UN secretary general, the post of his special representative on the Near East, appointing to this an individual of high international standing. He could be involved in the preparation of the international conference at its earliest stage.

If his task is supported by the European Community, by the United States, and by the other great powers, then it will be possible to reckon on success.

We have had the distinct feeling that conditions in the region are growing ripe for a "breakthrough" in the task of setting up a full-scale dialogue on a Near East settlement in the context of an international conference.

We have had a preliminary exchange of views with the other permanent members of the Security Council. As we understand it, all of them would be in principle willing to facilitate the convocation of an international conference, to contribute to its preparation, and to create the prerequisites for its success.

In this context, I would like to recall that, despite differences in approaches, the UN Security Council has played an important role in ending the war between Iran and Iraq. The Council has shown its ability to act in a balanced manner, maintaining its unity. Looking back, we see that the members of the Security Council have acted wisely, having concentrated on achieving the implementation of its first resolution on the Iran-Iraq conflict.

There is no doubt that everyone has noted the changes in the activity of the UN Security Council that have occurred in recent times. In its work at present there is without doubt greater collegiality, and a greater striving for consensus.

I think that we have sufficient grounds to assume that the Security Council will be capable of working out balanced recommendations with regard to the organization of an international conference on the Near East.

I would like to recall that the UN Organization has from the very start played a fundamental role in Near East affairs. In essence, everything that it has been possible to achieve here has been done in this organization and with its assistance. It is no coincidence that no one today thinks of an Arab-Israeli settlement other than on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

The United Nations Organization, by its charter, bears responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, and for averting situations that may threaten peace.

The United Nations Organization effectively promoted conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

Resolution 435 was adopted many years ago, and today we can see that without it it is hardly likely that a settlement could have been reached in southern Africa nor the path to independence be opened up to the people of Namibia.

The sides involved in the Near East conflict can, we think, rely on the United Nations organization and trust it with the role of mediator. Today there are no reasons for not placing the benefit of one's trust in the Security Council and seeing what recommendations it will work out.

No one will be any the worse for that. It will be the worse for everyone if we miss the chance once again to embark on the road toward a settlement, toward peace in the Near East.

Israel has no need to be afraid of the conference. Not only will its security not suffer, but, on the contrary, it will increase as the security of the other states in the region will increase.

Yesterday I said this to Mr Arens, Israel's foreign minister. In general, I should note that our conversation which, incidentally, was the second in the past 2 months, was very useful, in my view. The exchange of opinions, albeit diametrically opposed ones, helps to work out a true view of the state of affairs.

What we were absolutely unanimous about was the need to continue contacts for the purpose of seeking ways to reach a settlement. A meeting of a group of experts is already to take place in the near future.

On the whole, as I understood from Mr Arens, the idea of an international conference is for the moment not regarded very highly among the Israelis.

We think that it is precisely the conference that offers the chance of a historic compromise between the Arabs and the Israelis.

We would like the Government of Israel to know that if it chooses the conference and agrees to enter a dialogue with the PLO it will permit our two countries to take yet another step forward along the path of restoring full diplomatic relations. The beginning of the conference would become the starting point for the renewal of these relations.

In calling others to dialogue, we ourselves are intent on developing a maximally broad and constructive dialogue with all countries.

The Soviet Union intends to encourage and support in every possible way any positive steps aimed at eliminating differences among Arabs and uniting the Arab countries, and at the establishment by them of a constructive dialogue with regard to a Near East settlement. In particular, we support the idea of conducting meetings between high-ranking representatives of Syria, Egypt, Jordan, the PLO, and Lebanon to speed up the convocation of an international conference.

We welcome the development of contacts between the states of the Near East and the European Community, and with the United States of America. In these questions the Soviet Union speaks out in favor of the elimination of any competition among great powers. The policy of ousting one another from the region should be rejected, and we should go over to constructive cooperation for the sake of peace and calm in the Near East.

The new political thinking by which we are guided in our foreign policy views with paramount importance cooperation between states for the sake of establishing values common to all mankind. The range of these values is being built around the idea of equality of people, nations, and states, of freedom of choice for each individual and for each people.

Violations of human rights and, even more so, of the rights of entire peoples, and any discrimination, on whatever basis, directly detract from values common to all mankind. These values cannot be different for different people and countries.

It is only within this interpretation and context that we speak of the priority of values common to all mankind and of the supremacy of the idea common to all mankind.

We are calling for the renunciation in international relations of the "enemy image". It is, undoubtedly, psychologically not easy to take this step. Within the context of Near Eastern history and realities, such a way of putting the question may even appear naive. But renouncing the "enemy image" does not signify forgiveness of specific actions, crimes. Only, it is implicit here that this is not an emotional but a legal approach. After all, in society we do not regard a person who has broken the law as an "enemy." Thus, also in international relations one should change over to legal terminology.

This is not a formal change. Enemy is an unequivocal category. He must be either conquered or destroyed, or at best one must have nothing to do with him.

The "enemy" concept is not really compatible with the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflict situations, with the principle of the impermissibility of the use of force. The "enemy" notion is always mutual and always subjective. It is capable only of erecting barriers both in human and interstate relations, which are difficult to surmount. Through them it will be difficult to change over from confrontation to dialogue, to a legal settlement of international relations, to the establishment of the priority of values comon to all mankind, for violence cannot at all be included within this range of values.

The new political thinking proceeds from the need to remove ideology from interstate relations. Behind this there is no attempt to call on anyone to give up their convictions, their world outlook, or their values. What I am saying is that no one should impose his views on others.

In the Near East, people are well aware how dangerous each kind of intolerance and the fetishization [fetishizatsiya] of ideological dogmas are.

In the present-day world these phenomena are fraught with the risk of the destruction of civilization. Mankind can survive if it is united by interests common to all mankind and devoted to the principle of freedom of choice.

The new thinking is the ability of a state or society to reassess itself critically, admit past mistakes or erroneous political directives, and effect their revision.

The Soviet Union regards its foreign policy with self-criticism and is prepared to listen to and understand criticism from others. I am confident that our concrete actions in the international arena are a convincing enough proof of this aspect of the new thinking.

It would be good, I think, if a self-critical approach and realistic views took root in world politics.

The history of the Near East knows a host of plans and projects for a settlement. None of them has succeeded so far. Now one can read or hear that we have brought with us a new Soviet plan for a Near East settlement.

We will put it slightly differently: We have come here with a desire to work out such a plan, to work it out with the participation of all the countries of the region and with all the interested states. This plan is already taking shape and form. In the course of Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming trips to Cuba, Britain, the PRC, France,

and the FRG, the subject of a Near East settlement will be in active political use. In early March we will discuss it with Spanish Foreign Minister Ordonez in his capacity as chairman of the European Community, and U.S. Secretary of State Baker.

A Near East settlement is a subject of priority for us.

For the time being, speaking about the plan, I can definitely say that it is based on the Soviet leadership's priority political directive described by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the 43rd United Nations General Assembly session, a directive aimed at joint creative work of countries and governments for solving international and regional problems.

Following that directive, we are acting now to overcome not only geographical frontiers, but also the borders of past prejudices which today dangerously limit dialogue and restrict contacts. In particular, we are giving up the ideological component of interstate relations.

This does not mean giving up our own values or appealing to others to discard theirs. Just the opposite. But each time we establish a contact that seemed impossible or impermissible only yesterday, we ask ourselves: in the name of what?

In this case, in the name of peace in the Near East. This is an answer formulated in its most general form. Answering more specifically, we say: for preparing an international conference on the Near East.

We have come here with the conviction that at present, precisely the issues of preparing the conference are coming into the fore. Apart from rare and a very few exceptions, the idea of the conference prevails in people's minds, and our conversations here have shown that clearly.

We hope that our current and future contacts in the region will promote it successfully.

Equally, we count on establishing a better understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Near Eastern states.

Today, as the first week of our stay in the Near East draws to an end, we can see that through joint efforts Soviet-Egyptian relations have normalized completely and been brought onto an even path, and ahead of us are clear horizons.

We view the normalization of relations between the USSR and Egypt as ranking with the major political achievements of recent times, which have changed so significantly for the better the nature of international relations and the content of the dialogue that is common to all mankind.

The top leaders of our countries are the architects of the new Soviet-Egyptian cooperation. You know that I passed on to President Husni Mubarak a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev with an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. Talking to the president and to other Egyptian statesmen, I sensed strong emotions as a representative of the generation for whom Port Said, Aswan, Hulwan, and Alexandria were great landmarks in their life, facts in their personal biography.

In those days, people in the Soviet Union lived by the romanticism of the transformations and construction projects that had seized Egypt. This priceless capital, which cannot be devalued, will be involved in the development of friendship and cooperation in accordance with the tasks of the time.

The day before yesterday, while looking around the pyramids at Giza, I recalled that a whole number of important national economic installations that were built in Egypt with the Soviet Union's assistance were called monuments of the new epoch by the people. Even if this was an exaggeration, it indicated the scale and level of the relations toward which our countries and peoples, wanted to move.

Time is indicating a new scale, and not only for our bilateral relations.

We would like to cooperate with Egypt in transferring international relations from the path of confrontation to the road of dialogue and cooperation. Egypt is a major and influential country in the present-day world which is making a considerable contribution to the search for solutions to global problems; to disarmament, development, and ecology; and to the humanization and democratization of international contacts. We must unite our efforts. On this score my colleague, 'Abd al-Majid, and I have come to an understanding.

Already here in Cairo I read the opinion of one very respected Egyptian figure about it being possible to describe relations between our countries as "special."

This is pleasant without doubt, but, I think, it is now better for us to do without any kind of epithets. The world is increasingly becoming one whole and there should be no division into special and privileged relations in it. May they be normal for everyone—that is, firm, stable, and developing at a rate that is in the interests of the peoples of these countries.

I hope that these are precisely the relations that will take shape between Egypt and us.

Shevardnadze Meets Press After Mideast Speech

LD2302183489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1538 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo, 23 Feb (TASS)—Immediately after speaking to a gathering of respresentatives of the Egyptian public in Cairo today, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of

the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, answered questions put by Egyptian and foreign journalists present in the hall, describing some of the results of his stay in Cairo and the talks and meetings conducted during his trip.

Anwering a question to the effect that given Israel's fears of being isolated in the course of an international conference, it might perhaps be expedient to conduct negotiations under the aegis of the United States and USSR alone, in order to avoid such isolation. Shevardnadze stressed that it was essential to exclude any attempts to isolate anyone at all, whether Israel or the Palestinians. When we talk about preparations for a conference, we place the accent on precisely these issues, so that no one should be isolated, he indicated. Touching on the question of the possible demilitarization of a future Palestinian state, the Soviet minister explained that "this is a very important and serious question, but it is a subject for discussion at the conference. The answer to this question should be given at the international conference. I have spoken of security guarantees both for Israel and for the Palestinian people. This can be done only at the conference, using the high position and authority of the UN Security Council," he commented.

Answering a question about the prospects for establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, Shevardnadze stressed that such a step is mutually linked with the development of the process of a settlement in the region, as was pointed out in his statement.

The minister was asked whether the changes in the USSR's approach to a settlement in the Middle East testified to a review of the Soviet Union's views on Camp David. "The Camp David agreement occurred; it belongs to the past," he commented. "The less one stirs up the past, the better. I have told everyone this. If we are going to remember and discuss everything, starting from 1947 onward, and the entire history of these wars, then there will be no settlement. We must look ahead, to the long term. This long-term prospect is to prepare conditions for an international conference and convene it." Touching on the question of disarmament in the region and the possibility of sharing the problem of setting up zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Middle East, he stressed: "It was not fortuitous that I spoke about the region being over-saturated with weapons. This is abnormal. If the arms race is not stopped, then dangerous consequences await the region. We therefore support Egypt's proposal on setting up a nuclear-free zone here. One can support the proposal on setting up a zone free of chemical weapons. One could support the creation of demilitarized zones. Demilitarized zones should be discussed at the conference. It would be good to resolve at once all issues connected with nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons; it would be good, but hard to achieve. They must, therefore, be resolved in stages, when conditions are created for resolving this or that aspect of the problem."

Question: "You spoke about getting rid of rivalry between the great powers. Was this rivalry between the USSR and the United States manifested in the UN Security Council during the settlement of the Afghan problem, and with regard to the problem of an international conference? [no closing quotation mark as received]

Answer: "With regard to the Afghan settlement, there were no elements of rivalry in the UN Security Council and therefore it was possible to achieve agreement. On the Middle East, elements of rivalry have been and still are present. President Bush was asked yesterday whether he was concerned at the visit by a Soviet minister to the Middle East. He replied that he was not. That is good, but at the end Bush declared that the role of the USSR should be restricted. This is already rivalry. If the United States is in a postion to settle all problems on its own, then we will only applaud, but that is hardly realistic. We therefore are placing the accent on collective efforts and on using the authority of the UNSC and its permanent members. A breakthrough can be achieved only on a collective basis."

Explaining his proposal for informal consultations, which he put forward in his speech, Shevardnadze pointed out that the idea of a conference of foreign ministers of the United Nations Security Council member-countries has not yet found backing in the Security Council. "We are not imposing a preparatory committee. At present it is difficult to determine the form of the preparatory process; consultations between the sides will indicate this themselves. What is involved here is the widely varied nature of the entire process of preparatory work for an international conference on the Middle East, and we are not imposing anything at all."

Answering a question as to whether the association of a "Palestinian formation" with Jordan instead of a Palestinian state would be more acceptable for Israel, the Soviet minister stressed that "the form of self-determination is the sovereign right of the Palestinian people, whether it is an independent Palestinian state or a confederation with Jordan or Israel. This is the right of the people themselves. I will not overtake events and express myself in favor of any one variant. This would be tactless with regard to the Palestinian people."

The minister was asked what could be done by the United States, which has special relations with Israel, to persuade it to attend an international conference on the Middle East?

This would require a dialogue, a regular dialogue, the minister noted. "The United States has such an opportunity for a dialogue with both Israel and the Arab states, just as the Soviet Union has. The authority of the United States is well-knwon. I believe they have the opportunities and potential to convince Israel to join this process." Speaking about the USSR attitude to the recently created new Arab alliances, Shevardnadze explained that "If the

objectives of the amalgamation are noble—and as we understand it, among the new groupings they are such—then we welcome any confederation. Integratory processes are characteristic of Europe, the socialist countries, and ASEAN. These are not exceptions, but perfectly normal processes."

Replying to a question about the talks in Syria, the minister pointed out that they were held in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, and no problems arose. Our Syrian friends consider our development of contacts with Israel to be perfectly normal in facilitating the peace process, he said.

Answer: "There is but one answer to that. I am flying out with a sense of profound satisfaction. I thank the Egyptian Government, the president, and the foreign minister for the splendid conditions and good atmosphere they created for fruitful work. There undoubtedly is greater optimism," the USSR foreign minister stressed.

Seeks U.S.-USSR Mideast Cooperation

LD2302161989 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo February 23 TASS—Before leaving Cairo, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who was staying here on an official visit, gave replies to journalists' questions. He described his visit to Egypt as very useful and vital, noting at the same time that it was too early to speak about a breakthrough in the Middle Eastern settlement. Such a breakthrough could be implemented only through a collective effort, he pointed out.

Asked for his comments on U.S. President Bush's reaction to the results of the visit, Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the conviction that the U.S. Administration would realize that the USSR did not have plans against the United States. We are not going to compete with the U.S.A. in the region. On the contrary, we want to cooperate with it, the Soviet minister said.

Shevardnadze Departs Egypt for Iraq 23 Feb

LD2302153889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1517 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo, 23 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who has been here on an official visit, left Egypt for Iraq today. The Soviet guest was seen off at Cairo airport by 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and by other officials.

Among those seeing him off were G. Zhuravlev, USSR ambassador to the Arab Republic of Egypt, and A. Mahir, Egypt's ambassador to the USSR.

Reportage on Shevardnadze's Visit to Iraq

Arrives in Baghdad

LD2302182989 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad February 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived in Iraq on Thursday for an official visit. He was met at the airport by Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz. The welcoming party included V. Minin, Soviet ambassador to Iraq, and Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal, Iraqi ambassador to the USSR.

Says Mideast Prospects 'Good'

LD2402105289 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, on a tour of the Middle East and southwest Asia, has arrived in Baghdad from Egypt. Upon arrival in the Iraqi capital he told journalists that the prospects for a Middle East settlement were good and realistic.

On his last day in Cairo Shevardnadze spoke to a congregation of the Egyptian public. He said there was no more important task at the moment than to start concrete preparations for convening an international conference on a settlement in the Middle East.

Shevardnadze Tour Praised, Iraq Visit Previewed

LD2302212789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's tour of countries of the Near and Middle East is continuing. Our correspondent Aleksandr Levchenko reports from Baghdad.

[Levchenko] Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, arrived in the Iraqi capital today on an official visit. The Iraqi republic is the fourth country he is visiting in the course of his tour of countries of the Near and Middle East. The program for the visit provides for him to meet with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, and talk with Tariq 'Aziz, the republic's foreign minister.

The Arab press and the mass media of Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, and Kuwait are devoting a great deal of attention to this tour because, according to Egypt's foreign minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, this is a rare historic opportunity to come right up to a settlement of the Near Eastern problem.

THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER newspaper expressed itself even more specifically on this score. It stressed that in the course of the Soviet foreign minister's tour of the countries of the Near and Middle East, Moscow—to a greater extent than Washington—has won for itself the reputation of a superpower that is in actual fact striving to resolve a problem whose roots go back more than 40 years.

Arab journalists and observers are drawing particular attention to the fact that, after the completion of his official visit to Iraq, the Soviet foreign minister will fly to Tehran, where he will meet the leaders of the Islamic Republic. If Shevardnadze succeeds in achieving certain positive results in such a complicated problem as the Near East, the journalists believe, then one can hope that during his meetings in Baghdad and Tehran a new impulse will be imparted to the process of peace talks in Geneva as well.

USSR Envoy to Jordan Views Shevardnadze Tour

JN2302195289 Amman Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From "The News Desk" program; interview with Soviet Ambassador to Jordan Aleksandr Zinchuk by Ghadir al-Tahir on 22 February; place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] His Majesty King Husayn on Sunday the 19th met with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, who was in Jordan for 1 day as part of the Middle East tour. During the meeting, his majesty emphasized the role which the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council could play for peace efforts in the Middle East.

For an analysis of the Soviet foreign minister's tour to the region, Ghadir al-Tahir yesterday, Wednesday 22d, spoke to the Soviet ambassador to Jordan, Mr Aleksandr Zinchuk.

[Zinchuk] Well, the visit comes at this time because our analysis, the analysis in Moscow, is that the time is suitable and the situation in the Middle East is not only ripe for the quick moves, but it requires the quick moves because of the intifadah [the Palestinian uprising], because of the constructive platform adopted by the PLO; and those two factors led to the change of public opinion in the whole world in favor of a quick action in Europe and in other countries, including the public opinion in America among the Jewry there, and even in Israel.

[Al-Tahir] As you said, the PLO has changed its platform. It has recognized Israel's existence, accepted UN pertinent resolutions, and renounced terrorism. But, in return, Israel has not given any concessions. How will Mr Shevardnadze in his meeting with Mr Arens today pressure Israel into changing their position.

[Zinchuk] Since the PLO did what you said and also recognized the Resolutions 242 and 338 of the United Nations, as many say, including the foreign ministers of Western Europe, it is now time for Israel to make steps in response to the PLO actions. And, of course, Mr Shevardnadze's task will be to try to convince Mr Arens when he meets with him that it is necessary for the Israelis to move to make corresponding moves to meet the Palestinian moves and to facilitate the peace process in the area. And of course he will speak in that general meaning also with other leaders, as Mr Baker when he meets him in Vienna in the beginning of March, and with other leaders.

[Al-Tahir] Let me be more specific. There are decisive differences between the Palestinian and Israeli positions, especially about territorial concessions. In practical terms, how will Mr Shevardnadze influence the Israeli Government in order to bridge the gap between the two positions?

[Zinchuk] Well, for the Israeli Government it is necessary to recognize the two resolutions in all their implications, including the withdrawal from the occupied territories, exchange of land for peace, and recognize the well known principle that the territories cannot be acquired by force. If they recognize that in principle, then the rest will be easy to adjust, to find a common platform to move forward.

[Al-Tahir] Mr Shevardnadze will be meeting with Mr 'Arafat in Cairo today. What recommendations will he make to Mr 'Arafat in order to better improve the Palestinian position, which is already very good in the international community?

[Zinchuk] Well, everyone has recognized that the Palestinian position, the PLO position, is now very constructive and they did everything they could; and I am sure Mr Shevardnadze will not ask Mr 'Arafat for additional moves because it is time for the Israelis to move. So, the discussion, as I understand, will be like the discussion with other participants of the conflict here—that is, of the necessity to act together, to act by consulting each other, by close coordination in order to move ahead with the preparation for the conference.

[Al-Tahir] Regarding the international conference, what will be the role of the Security Council members in finding a just solution?

[Zinchuk] At the conference? Well, the role of the permanent members of the Security Council will be to help the parties find the right and just solution. There will be no desire to impose a solution on the parties in the area, but they will try to be helpful to find compromise formulas, to consult—if the parties wish so—to consult with them, to suggest compromises when there is a disagreement between the parties in the area.

[Al-Tahir] But why is there optimism at this time that a solution is possible? Mr. Shamir in Paris today again ruled out the PLO as a negotiating partner, whereas the Palestinians will not accept anyone except the PLO as their representative. So why do you see that a conference at this time is possible?

[Zinchuk] As the decision that it is time to act now—the best time to act is now. That is the main moving force behind our actions, behind Mr Shevardnadze's visit to

the area. Well, to make it fruitful and to really have optimism for the solution of the conflict it is necessary to work, and work very hard with all the parties concerned, first of all with Israel and the United States.

Gerasimov on Shevardnadze in Iran; Afghanistan

NC2402125789 Paris AFP in English 1249 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Nicosia, Feb 24 (AFP)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will not raise the Rushdie affair in his forthcoming visit to Iran, a senior Soviet official said Friday.

But the issue may be discussed at Iran's initiative, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a press conference in the Cypriot capital.

Asked to comment on the Iranian death threat against British author Salman Rushdie, the spokesman said: "You must respect both the religious feelings of other people and also international law."

Mr. Gerasimov noted that "The Satanic Verses," which he had not read, had not been published in the Soviet Union.

The chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Publishing, Mikhail Nenashev, said Wednesday in New Delhi that the Soviet Union had no immediate plans to publish the book, which many Moslems have branded as blasphemous.

But the authorities would have no objection if a private company published "The Satanic Verses," he said.

Mr. Shevardnadze is due Saturday to travel to Tehran on the fifth and last leg of a regional tour.

Iran's spiritual guide Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni called February 14 for the execution of Mr. Rushdie, a Moslem-born author who has gone into hiding in Britain under police protection.

On Afghanistan, Mr. Gerasimov said the Soviet foreign minister was not scheduled to meet with Iran-based Afghan rebels in Tehran, but he did not rule out the possibility.

"It depends on the rebels, if they want a meeting," he said.

The spokesman, describing the Afghan opposition as "divided," said that plans to form a rebel government were "not suported even by the opposition stationed in Iran."

"Nobody can predict the outcome in Afghanistan," he said. "There is a big danger that we are going to have a second Lebanon on our hands."

Mr. Gerasimov described negotiations aimed at reaching a national reconciliation as the "only way out."

Turning to the situation in Armenia and the dispute with neighbouring Azerbaijan over the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, he said that "passions were still running high."

"I hope in time that it will calm down. But it will take time," he warned.

Mr. Gerasimov, who arrived Wednesday in Cyprus for an official visit, is expected to leave the island Monday, after meeting President George Vasiliou.

'Improvement' in Ties With Iran Welcomed

NC2302132789 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Aleksandr Batev commentary from "On the Waves of Radio Moscow" feature]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is on a trip to various Middle Eastern and Near Eastern countries. His visit to Tehran will began on 25 February. Of what significance will this visit be? We have asked our analyst Aleksandr Batev, who is a permanent participant in our feature, to answer this question. Our analyst says:

In my opinion, the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Tehran should end a relatively long and not very favorable period in Soviet-Iranian relations. In recent months, and especially after the Iran-Iraq war ended, relations between our two countries have started to improve. The improvement in Soviet-Iranian economic relations and the increased visits by high-ranking diplomats from both countries are proof of this. The Soviet foreign minister's visit to Tehran will be a logical continuation of this process.

In answer to a question on what led to the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Iran, Aleksandr Batev said: This is generally the outcome of the developments taking place in both countries and which have been manifested in the form of more openness toward the outside world. These developments started in Iran after the cease-fire on the war fronts. Developments in the Soviet Union are taking place within the framework of perestroyka.

Moreover, the course of international events in the Middle East genuinely facilitates the rapprochement between the two countries. For example, the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Tehran is taking place immediately after completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The opinion voiced in Tehran currently is that this withdrawal and the end of the Iran-Iraq war have removed all the obstacles obstructing the expansion of Soviet-Iranian relations. The Soviet Union, too, wants

these relations to normalize. Soviet-Iranian cooperation should once again be based on a strong basis, which was built as far back as 1921, when the first Soviet-Iranian agreement was signed.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that during the days of Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Tehran, the anniversary of this agreement will be marked. Apparently, this is to be discussed at the upcoming Soviet-Iranian talks. It is hoped that Eduard Shevardnadze's visit will be a new and powerful impetus for the development of goodneighborly relations and cooperation that determined relations between our two countries for years.

Iran, West's Hard-Liners Exploit Rushdie Affair

NC2302141589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The apology by the author of the controversial book "The Satanic Verses" to all the Muslims has been refused by Tehran. More calls are being heard from Tehran for the execution of the British author. This is a source of great regret because it has eliminated the hopes of the social circles in various countries and, namely, in the Soviet Union that the political crisis in relation to the said novel would die down.

We will try to understand the reasoning behind Tehran's obstinacy and insistence. Of course, the publication of "The Satanic Verses" tried the patience of some representatives of the Iranian clergy, who have repeatedly confronted the realities of contemptuous approaches by the West toward the religious feelings of Muslims. But, behind all these clergymen stand those who are running the country. These officials should not be pursuing the moral criteria of past centuries, which called for spilling human blood in answer to insults to [word indistinct). Moreover, this in no way is a sign of strength and power. The power of a politician lies in his alertness, self-control, and sense of responsibility.

Apparently in Tehran they believe Rushdie's apology is devoid of value because it will not stop the publication of his novel in the world. Actually, it would be naivete to believe in the piousness of Western publication houses and politicians. However, resorting to terror and threats in this way will have no other outcome for Iran but the exacerbation of international crises with dangerous consequences for Iran itself. This is because the incidents in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq war showed that the NATO militarists will resort to any (?means) to take pitiless and suppressive measures. As you know, the U.S. Navy shelled oil platforms, fishing boats, and cargo ships of Iran and of Arab states. These were civilian targets. Many in the West are prepared to spark new military confrontations with Iran and other Islamic countries for the sake of their self-seeking interests. Not only the Iranians, but many others in other Islamic countries believe Rushdie's book is an insult to religious sanctities. But they have not joined in the call by the Iranian religious officials for the murder of the book's author; and this, in our opinion, does not in any way display fear or retreat in front of the West's power. This, first and foremost, is a logical and realistic approach.

Each one of the Islamic countries and, namely, Iran enjoy the right to ban the publication of this book within their national borders. However, the major point is that many Muslims believe they will effectively and efficiently safeguard Islam not by terror, but by defending their views from a humanitarian and civilized point of view. In their opinion, the continuation of the policy of terror agaisnt the insult to religious sanctities can only lead to the enemies of the Muslims scoring a propaganda point.

Truly speaking, some analysts see things in Tehran's extremist reaction to the publication of "The Satanic Verses" that do not conform with moral criteria. UPI reports that the issue now is not so much the book by the British author, about which there has been such a much commotion, but more a strong power struggle within the Iranian leadership. The said news agency points out that the hardliners who oppose a reconciliation between Iran and the West are trying to impress Khomeyni. The publication of the said book gave them the best pretext to fan the flames of propaganda against the West.

There might be a point in this opinion. But here, too, all the responsibility in the confrontation between Iran and the West will be written off against Iran. Meanwhile, the fact that the problem of the return of Iran's assets from the United States and France continues to remain unsolved and the fact that the NATO military presence in the Persian Gulf continues, show that the West itself is trying to avoid a reconciliation with Iran on a just and equal basis.

The commotion about "The Satanic Verses" is overshadowing the true problems in Iran's relations with the West with imaginary problems.

PDPA, Mujahidin Political Developments Viewed

PM2302260089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "Afghanistan: The Ruling Party Consolidates Its Control"]

[Text] An Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers, to be headed by Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, has been set up in Afghanistan. It will also include the ministers of finance, trade, and transportation.

REUTER points out that, following M.H. Sharq's resignation, 52-year-old S. Keshtmand, a member of the PDPA leadership (who was previously prime minister of the country from 1981 until 1988), will to all intents and purposes be the head of executive power in Afghanistan.

Commenting on the resignation of the seven nonparty ministers and the new appointments of PDPA members to the ministerial posts, news agencies emphasize that the measures that have been taken testify to President Najibullah's intention to consolidate party control of the government. Many party members are armed, REUTER notes. At the same time, the news agency emphasizes that Najibullah "has redoubled his efforts to attract the opposition's field commanders to his side, attempting to reach accord with them on the formation of a broad-based coalition government."

Under conditions of incessant violations of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan and the United States, Afghanistan's Foreign Minister A. Wakil has sent a letter addressed to the UN Security Council chairman asking the Security Council and its chairman personally "to examine the process of implementation of the Geneva agreements and prevent the situation from deteriorating still further." There is a pressing need for the United Nations to make efforts to save Afghanistan and the Afghan people from the threat of war, which is being organized and financed abroad.

The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN carries a report on medical assistance for Kabul residents. "Despite the British Government's pressure on its citizens not to help areas under the Kabul government's control (IZVESTIYA has already reported the British authorities' attempts to block aid to Afghanistan through the United Nations), the first shipment of British medical supplies has arrived in Kabul's hospitals. Even though the quantity is small, the very fact that the supplies and British physician Beryl Beynon have arrived there was welcomed 'with great enthusiasm' by the population." The newspaper even suggests that the shipment of medical supplies from Britain could be seen as "a break in the economic blockade organized by Western governments against the Afghan capital, whose 2 million residents are experiencing serious hardships."

According to AFP, the shura—the Afghan opposition's Consultative Council—which is still continuing in Rawalpindi, is approaching total collapse.

Many of the 440 delegates have left Rawalpindi "in a state of anger." A scheduled session was postponed yet again on Wednesday because of persisting differences between different parties of the "Seven." In the next few days a commission consisting of 70 members (10 from each of the alliance parties) is due to submit recommendations on the composition of a future "provisional government." The main stumbling block, as before, is the appointment of fundamentalist Ahmad Shah as "premier," which evoked resistance from moderate opposition groups.

"The Peshawar leaders proved incapable of reaching agreement on the delicate question of allocating ministerial portfolios," France's LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS writes. "Under these conditions, the baton will obviously be taken over by the opposition field commanders, who will uphold their own views about a way out of the deadlock that has developed."

Afghan Army Attacks Rebels in Khowst, Paktia

LD2402024689 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 23 TASS—Government forces killed 50 and wounded more than 80 extremists in counterattacks in Khowst District and Paktia Province on Wednesday. Two armoured cars of the extremists were also destroyed.

The blows followed rebel offensives in the areas of Igarigar [place name as received] and Gorbaz earlier in the day, during which more than 500 rockets were fired on villages in Khowst District, BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

The barrages of fire left four Afghan troops dead and several mosques and dwellings destroyed.

Six patients and staff were gravely injured by an explosion in a Herat hospital caused by extremists seeking to wreak havoc among the city's civilian population.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent four more protest notes to UN monitors in Kabul, detailing further Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements.

According to information reaching BAKHTAR News Agency, General Mohammed Are [spelling of name as received] of Pakistani military intelligence has arrived in an area bordering Afghanistan to coordinate military activities between different insurgent groups.

Conflicts 'Paralyze' Afghan Rebel Government

LD2402043389 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad February 23 TASS—The distribution of portfolios in "a transitional Mujahidin government" is being heatedly discussed behind closed doors by a special commission, part of the Afghan opposition's Consultative Council (shura). According to reports, passions are running high over candidates for the foreign affairs, interior and defence ministers' posts.

The shura, which opened in Rawalpindi, Pakistan on February 10, was planned to last for only three days. But it is still sitting wrecked by conflicts and contradictions between groups of extremists and the so-called moderates among the Pakistani-based "Seven". The delegates' brief meetings are alternating with long conferences of rival party leaders who are trying in vain to reach a compromise.

Some of the shura's 400 delegates have recently expressed apprehension that "a transitional government" might never be formed at all, since the obviously heightened contradictions have actually paralyzed the shura.

The Iran-based "Alliance of Eight" is known to have refused to participate in the Consultative Council's work. Many field commanders of opposition formations, acting on Afghanistan's territory, have also voiced their categorical disagreement with the "Seven".

U.S., Pakistan Still Violating Geneva Accords

LD2302175389 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Kornilov commentary]

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—by TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

"We are firmly convinced that if Pakistan and the United States continue to ignore their commitments under the Geneva agreements, peace and national accord in Afghanistan, to which a resolution unanimously adopted at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly calls, will be jeopardized," says a letter to the Security Council president, signed by Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil.

This letter is yet another call from Kabul for more vigorous efforts by the United Nations to settle the conflict. In this message, the minister drew again public attention to the causes of the continued bloodshed in Afghanistan.

The chief cause is the absence of realism as certain circles in Pakistan and those rather influential forces that stand behind them stubbornly aim at "crushing" Afghanistan as an independent country and seizing power in Kabul in violation of the Geneva accords.

Hence the attempts to knock together behind the backs of the Afghans a foreign-based "interim" government. Hence the concentration of 20,000 Pakistani troops near the Afghan border and large-scale deliveries of weapons to the "irreconcilable" opposition. Hence the intensive propaganda campaign aimed at distorting Kabul's and Moscow's position and justifying the violation of the Geneva agreements.

The initiators of armed interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs are simply unwilling to draw lessons from their own experience, even today, when the Soviet troops are out of Afghanistan. That was their last propaganda "trump card" which they used in a bid to justify intervention in other people's affairs.

Many news analysts, in assessing the situation related to Afghanistan, ask today the following question: What stands in the way of the implementation of the idea of ending arms deliveries to the warring parties?

In the opinion of a prominent Western diplomat based in Moscow, the reason is that the Kabul regime "has considerably more" weapons than the opposition, and the United States is not going to end the deliveries so as not to upset the "balance."

The arguments are, in my view, unconvincing. Of course, the Afghan Armed Forces are well equipped to repulse aggression. But the United States, as is known, has spent a total of two billion dollars, and if the "irreconcilable" opposition has not yet attained its objectives, it was clearly not because of a shortage of weapons.

First and foremost, their claims to absolute power are rejected by large sections of the Afghan population. This is a fact.

Now let us raise the question in a different way: Doesn't the entire course of events in Afghanistan confirm that the only way towards the elimination of conflict lies not through fresh military actions, but through a constructive dialogue and the search for mutually acceptable compromises and the creation on this basis of a truly representative and authoritative government with the participation of all political forces?

"We hope that Afghanistan will not become another Lebanon," said the Western diplomat in a conversation with a group of journalists in Moscow Wednesday.

One can only support his remarks. But the hopes will be dashed unless all countries, involved in the conflict one way or another, display realism and apply maximum effort to put into life the Geneva agreements.

Regrettably, both Islamabad and certain circles in Washington, at least today, are doing the contrary.

Sub-Saharan Africa

OAU Ministers To Discuss Namibia Settlement

EA2102115089 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 20 Feb 89

[From the "A Few Out of Many" program]

[Text] The OAU foreign ministers meeting has opened in Addis Ababa. The meeting will last 6 days and is the 49th ministers meeting. It will examine the organization's budget and administration. A major issue on the agenda is the achievement of Namibian independence. The reason African governments have stressed the proper implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 is that Pretoria does not observe the pledges it has made. As a representative of the South African Conservative Party said recently, man-made obstacles can be created. Pretoria will strive to prevent successful elections in Namibia, or failing that, to prevent SWAPO from winning. This is why, while the RSA foreign minister is calling for all Namibian refugees to return to their country, it has also been reported that obstacles to this

are being created. Pretoria is striving to hand over the suffering Namibian people to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

The OAU has expressed concern over the reduction in the number of UN observers who will monitor elections in Namibia. At present there are 150 to 300,000 RSA soldiers and police officers concentrated in Namibia. Can 4,650 UN observers monitor their movements? It is feared that because of its desire to oppose SWAPO, Pretoria will leave many soldiers behind in Namibia. As pointed out by AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, it has been said that 3,000 anti-SWAPO and Koevoet Battalion members will mix with Namibian police.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in his speech in Luanda, Angola, that if the RSA violates the New York agreement it will lose everything. Roelof Botha has said that Pretoria understands this very well. The RSA National Party is currently suffering from confusion. Therefore, there is no alternative to settlement of regional conflicts. Pretoria should expect danger from inside and outside if it violates the southwest Africa agreement.

It is expected that the current OAU foreign ministers meeting will examine all key problems of Namibia and pass resolutions.

RSA National Party Leadership Impeding Reform

MB2202184689 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Boris Asoyan commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] My wish is to see a new South Africa focusing on a reformation without ill feeling or bitterness. White delaying tactics must end. In my opinion, the crux of the matter in the South Africa situation is the need to refrain from resisting the progressive thinking of Frederik de Klerk—an analysis of the statements of this new National Party [NP] leader, however, shows he avoided talking about the African National Congress' [ANC] role in the country's political future. There was nothing in his address pointing to discussions with the different groups in the struggle, even in the distant future, and no new ideas that would inject new life into the process of solving the country's problems.

Instead, in answer to a journalist's question on the prospect of talks with the ANC, De Klerk merely repeated a much heard government statement that there would be no talks with organizations that espouse violence. He added that his party will never agree to a one-man-one-vote system.

The question remains, what can be achieved if there is no chance of discussions with antiapartheid groups in South Africa?

If De Klerk's statements are an indication of the prevailing thinking in the NP, then it is obvious that they mark the inability of the Afrikaner leadership to grasp issues relating to the future of the party and country. If, on the other hand, they reflect De Klerk's own thinking, there emerges doubt about his ability to lead the nation to genuine reform. People always expect a new leader to put forward fresh and inspiring ideas on how to tackle old problems, but it is quite clear that he does not have any to offer.

De Klerk's address is a sign of what can be expected in the future. Many believe that the chances for a peaceful resolution of the country's problems are dwindling, while still others feel the coming together of opposing sides is not yet necessary, because both sides have a lot of fight left. I favor the opinion of the first group, [words indistinct] strengthening of repression. This is what has deceived the the NP leadership. [passage indistinct] As it is, there is too much talk and no real attention paid to events in the country and the desperate need for honest reform. Opportunities for a peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems are progressively eroding. Any future dragging of the feet by the NP leadership may end in tragedy.

Ethiopian Minister's Visit Strengthens Ties

EA2002172989 Moscow International Service in Swahili 1730 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Berhanu Bayeh, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee Politburo and Ethiopian foreign minister, who has arrived here in Moscow as envoy of the secretary general of the WPE Central Committee, President Mengistu Haile Mariam, continues his visit here in the Soviet Union. He has met the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. During the talks, which took place in a friendly and frank atmosphere of understanding, major international questions were discussed, as well as the situation in the Horn of Africa. Views were exchanged on expanding relations between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia, as well as on other issues of common interest.

Berhanu Bayeh delivered to Mikhail Gorbachev a message from the Ethiopian leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam. Agreement in principle was reached that the Ethiopian leader would visit the Soviet Union.

The latest visit by the Ethiopian minister to the Soviet Union is a development in the normal, friendly cooperation between the two countries and will promote the expansion of bilateral relations. The visit is taking place at a time of fundamental changes all over the world. The voice of the people is increasingly heard supporting the peace initiatives announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in December last year at the UN General Assembly.

The recent withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is not only demonstrative of the Soviet leadership's goodwill, sincerity, and responsibility, but also of the leadership's wise approach to the settlement of crises arising from time to time. The effects of this move on international life was given great attention during the meetings between Berhanu Bayeh and the Soviet leaders.

Our countries adopt a common stance at international forums. Together they strive to remove the nuclear threat and cause peace to prevail everywhere. Together they seek ways of settling crises, of solving major issues facing humanity, and of eliminating hunger, disease, poverty, and backwardness.

Here in the Soviet Union, people greatly respect the friendly people of Ethiopia. The Soviet people align themselves with the policies of the WPE and Government of Ethiopia, which are designed to raise living standards, strengthen freedom, and promote friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia.

The forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union of the Ethiopian leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam, will be a new step along the road of solidarity between the CPSU and the WPE, our countries, and our peoples.

Reporter Comments on Visit to Somalia

EA2202185589 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 21 Feb 89

[From the "World Events Today" program; part one of two-part report on discussion by Aleksey Bukalov, NOVOYE VREMYA's special correspondent, on his visit to Somalia]

[Text] [Bukalov] I was away from Mogadishu for 15 years. For that reason, as my aircraft approached Mogadishu airport, I looked through the window to see if I could recognize some of the city's landmarks. In the mid-sixties I worked in Somalia for several years. I saw for myself that the Somalis are a sociable people who like visitors, a fact readily illustrated by the Somali proverb: If you want to get to know someone well, either travel or stay with him.

During my latest stay in Somalia one of the first people I met was Comrade Ahmad Muhammad Adan, permanent secretary of the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] Foreign Ministry and a seasoned diplomat who was twice Somalia's ambassador to the USSR. He regards the cooperation between Somalia and the USSR as his greatest achievement. The permanent secretary added that relations between our two countries is broad-based: Somalis like and respect the Soviet people very much. The USSR gave us many interest-free loans. I am sure the excellent relations between our two countries will become even better. Many Russian-speaking Somalis work in government ministries and departments and are first-class experts educated in the USSR.

Answering a question on relations between the SDR and Ethiopia, Ahmad Muhammad Adan said: We are striving fully to implement our recent bilateral agreement, adding: We will also strive to coexist peacefully with all our neighbors, including Ethiopia.

The main purpose of my visit to Somalia was to hold talks with President Muhammad Siad Barre. While I was in Mogadishu, the president was very busy. After returning from Cairo, he addressed the extraordinary session of the National People's Assembly. His address focused on the country's foreign and domestic policies. He relieved the defense minister of his portfolio and made some changes in the top leadership of the Armed Forces.

My hopes of meeting Comrade Siad were dwindling, but just a few hours before I was due to leave, I was summoned to Villa Somalia, the president's residence. This year Somalia will mark the 20th anniversary of Comrade Muhammad Siad Barre's becoming president. My first question was therefore about the successes Somalia had achieved during that period and the current situation facing Somalia. The 21 October revolution of the Somali Armed Forces was a bloodless coup, said the president. The Armed Forces aimed at properly serving the current and future interests of the Somali people. We have passed through a difficult period and are now making great efforts to achieve economic growth and raise living standards, said the president. We have achieved great successes in the field of education.

During our conversation, I touched on relations between our two countries and the revolutionary changes taking place in the USSR. The president replied: I have followed with interest the ongoing reforms in the USSR. In my view, reforms are not easy to bring about. It is very difficult to make changes in a 70-year-old system, but I expect the changes are wanted by the Soviet people. He added: I believe the reforms will enhance the honor of the USSR and its ability to strengthen world peace. The agreement between the USSR and the United States to ban nuclear weapons and the new peace proposals by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations will ensure and promote world peace.

The president went on to say: No Somali will ever forget the economic, educational, technical, and social assistance the USSR has given our country. Soviet experts have worked as volunteers in Somalia, leaving remarkable results. I am sad that our relations became sour. This was not due to hatred for the USSR, because such enmity has no place in the hearts of Somalis, but it came about due to national differences and the historical situation of the Horn of Africa.

Further on Visit

EA2302134389 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From the "World Events Today" program; part two of two-part report on discussion by Aleksey Bukalov, NOVOYE VREMYA'S special correspondent, on his visit to Somalia]

[Text] Dear listeners, as we told you earlier, the NOVOYE VREMYA special correspondent, Aleksey Bukalov, has returned from Somalia. He came to the Somali section of

Radio Moscow to share with us his views on Somalia and the talks he held with government officials, politicians, academicians, and experts. The first part of our interview with Aleksey Bukalov was broadcast yesterday: Now here is a report on the second and final part:

A Somali proverb says the absence of education is the same as the absence of light. Somalis everywhere strive for education. The literacy programme has been a great success, Aleksey Bukalov said.. He continued: During my stay in Somalia, I held fruitful and interesting talks with Professor Ahmad Arwil Hangeh, deputy chairman of the faculty of education and culture at the Somali National University. Our discussion was in Russian since Prof Hangeh graduated from the language department of Moscow University in 1965. Somali academicians have, in the past few years, published some 10 books dealing with the history and culture of Somalia. Yasin Uthman Kenadid has published a Somali dictionary, and a book titled "Camel Praise" was the work of Ahmad Ali Abokor. Currently, Somali academicians are preparing for the fourth congress of the Somali Educational Research Association to be held in Mogadishu in June this year.

I also had a very interesting meeting with the director of the foreign affairs division of the Somalia Revolutionary Socialist Party [SRSP] Central Committee, Warsameh Abdullahi Ali, Aleksey Butalov said, adding: Doctor Warsameh is a jolly person, full of humor. He has strived hard to create awareness among Somali intellectuals that the country is depending on their know-how.

Aleksey Bukalov also met and held discussions with many Somalis who remember well how the Soviet Government and people extended unlimited support to them during the 1974-75 drought. The people who were badly hit by the drought were transported to new areas in large vehicles and planes received from the Soviet Union. Most of the people were evacuated to the central regions through which the rivers Juba and Shabeelleh pass.

Comrade Warsameh Abdullahi Ali believes the Somali-Soviet relationship has a very bright future. Recently a delegation from the Soviet Ministry of Fisheries visited Somalia and held talks on how best to exploit the fish resources off Somalia's long coastline.

Somalia would like to buy cement, other building materials, and tractors from the USSR. It has been said that various factories will be built in Somalia.

The NOVOYE VREMYA special correspondent Aleksey Bukalov also said he asked Doctor Warsameh about the work of the SRSP Central Committee. Doctor Warsameh replied: During the month of December 1988 and January 1989, the fourth session of the Central Committee took place. He said the party resolved to do everything possible to ease the tension in the northern regions of the country. The party further resolved to fully implement the SDR-Ethiopia agreement signed in April 1988. The party also debated very important issues pertaining to Somali affairs, including the policy of promoting cultural and economic development in the country. The party further resolved that the Central Committee would hold such sessions every 3 months.

Comrade Warsameh, speaking on international issues, said the SRSP is a member of the Socialist International and has excellent relations with several Marxist parties and liberation movements. It appears that Ahmad Muhammad Farah, the SDR deputy prime minister, who is a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, continued where Doctor Warsameh left off. Comrade Ahmad Muhammad Farah, visiting Moscow recently, said that the ongoing reforms in the USSR will help greatly to create harmony and trust among mankind and, at the same time, bring about global peace and cooperation.

Listening to the Somali officials news conference in Moscow, Aleksey Bukalov added: I remembered my recent visit to Somalia. Since I was there 15 years ago, a lot has changed in Somalia and the world, but the Somalis themselves have not changed. Notably, the great love of the Somali people for mankind has not changed. These are the same people who were found in the land historians call Punt, where elephant tusks and other expensive goods, were obtained.

You have been listening to an interview with Aleksey Bukalov, special correspondent of the Moscow weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, who returned from Somalia.

East Europe

Kessler, Soviet Commander on Army Cooperation

PM2202085189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Colonel A. Vasilets dispatch: "In the Spirit of Fraternal Friendship"]

[Text] Group of Soviet Forces in Germany—A ceremonial opening of Combat Collaboration Week, which is traditionally pegged to the anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Armed Forces and the GDR National People's Army, took place in Karl-Marx-Stadt, GDR, on 17 February.

A rally marking the event was addressed by Army General H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense. This year, he said, the week of comradeship-in-arms is being held under the banner of new steps toward disarmament and confidence-building taken by the Soviet Union, our Republic, and other Warsaw Pact states to continue the process of armed forces and armaments reduction which began with the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and to create a favorable climate for the Vienna talks on disarmament problems in Europe which are scheduled to open in the near

future. The speech delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations, where he announced unilateral cuts in the Soviet Armed Forces, and the reduction of our National People's Army by 10,000 men and of our defense expenditure by 10 percent, announced 23 January by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, have met with the greatest interest and the highest appreciation from peace-loving forces throughout the world.

The fraternal alliance of the peoples and armies of the USSR and the GDR, Army General H. Kessler went on, is and will remain a most important basis of our security and an immutable precondition of the successful struggle to further lower the level of military confrontation and to build our common European home, peaceful coexistence, and good-neighborliness. Friendship with the Soviet Union and comradeship-in-arms with the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces have always meant action rather than words for the GDR and the servicemen of the National People's Army. This is borne out by the multifaceted mutual relations between formations and units of the GDR National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, between the People's Navy and the Baltic Fleet.

Army General B. Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, emphasized in his speech that USSR-GDR relations represent an example of genuine internationalism, indestructible friendship, and fruitful cooperation. For decades now they have been helping our peoples to resolve important tasks of their development and serving as a factor of stability and peace in Europe. In all parts of the world understanding of the fact that socialism and peace are inseparable is strengthening. This is taking place thanks to the concrete actions of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states aimed at strengthening security and confidence in Europe and throughout the world.

The personnel of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Army General B. Snetkov stressed, are aware of their responsibility for the reliable defense of socialism's gains. In the formations and units of the group of forces constant efforts are under way to enhance the quality of combat and political training, to strengthen military discipline, and to improve the training and material base and the men's living conditions.

Guided by the new defensive doctrine, we are restructuring our Armed Forces in an effort to reshape them in such a way as to ensure that in terms of both quantity and quality they are able to reliably rebuff a possible aggression. This process is under way in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany alongside preparations for the withdrawal from GDR territory of a number of formations and units. We are performing our task in the defense of peace in close combat alliance with the GDR National People's Army. We highly value this alliance and treasure its indestructibility.

Within the framework of Combat Collaboration Week joint events of military collectives of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the GDR National People's Army—reciprocal visits, ceremonial laying of wreaths and flowers on the graves of Soviet soldiers who died in the struggle against fascism, and festive amateur concerts—are to be held in many cities. Excursions by servicemen of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany to industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are planned.

MSZMP Plenum Discusses Draft Constitution

PM2302123589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov report: "What Should Hungary's Basic Law Be Like? MSZMP Central Committee Plenum Has Discussed Draft New Constitution"]

[Text] Budapest—Future Hungarian historians will surely regard the period the country is now going through as an era of unusually active lawmaking. I think that today not even a lawyer would venture to list all the laws which have already been passed or are still in preparation. Virtually all of them concern the political reform currently underway in the country. The basis of the reform is the new Constitution, the draft of which was submitted for examination to the recently ended MSZMP Central Committee Plenum chaired by Comrade J. Kadar.

MSZMP Central Committee Secretary G. Fejti, who delivered the report on the basic concept of the new Constitution to the plenum, noted that it is to define Hungary as a free, democratic, and socialist state in which supreme sovereignty belongs to the people. The creation of a rule-of-law state urgently requires an end to the long-standing practice of undivided and unlimited power and the enshrinement of separation of powers as a basic constitutional principle. On this basis the draft new Constitution proposes that the competence and tasks of each organ of power be clearly defined.

In accordance with the requirements of the rule-of-law state, the National Assembly—the supreme organ of people's representation—has a special place in the new Hungarian Constitution. The National Assembly will remain the supreme legislative organ but when it becomes a standing body it will intensify its monitoring of the government's activity and will resolve, not just in words but in deeds, questions of appointments to the main state posts and of the most important areas of the state's foreign policy, as well as its economic and social policy, resorting where necessary to the procedure of a vote of no confidence in the government. Of course, this will not mean the National Assembly will be given unlimited power: It will not be able to deprive other bodies of state power of their constitutionally enshrined rights.

By all accounts, the principle of the separation of powers will also affect mutual relations between the party and state. The new Constitution does not provide a provision on the MSZMP's leading role. Of course, the MSZMP does not relinquish the place that it has gained in society, but it will now have to demonstrate its leading role by the policy it pursues and by concrete actions in conditions of competition with other political forces. In addition to the provision on the right to create social organizations and parties, the new draft Constitution envisages that only those organizations and parties whose aims, programs, and activities are not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution will be able to function in the country.

In the words of G. Fejti, one of the most important provisions in the basic law is the one which says that the national economy is primarily based on social ownership but at the same time the equality of all forms of ownership—state, cooperative, and private—will be recognized.

Such, in brief, are the main features of the concept of the new Constitution presented to the plenum. Additional proposals were put forward during the discussion. For example, the idea was put forward of creating a two-chamber parliament and of instituting the post of president of the Republic in place of the existing Hungarian Presidium, a post which could serve as a guarantee for the separation of powers.

Another proposal envisages the creation of the institution of protector of civil rights (such a post has been instituted in the Polish Sejm). A broad range of questions will fall within its competence, ranging from the right to institute proceedings before the Constitutional Court to the possibility of summoning a responsible official to a parliamentary commission hearing.

After discussing the concept of the new Constitution, the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum approved its provisions and recommended that it, together with the proposals received, be submitted to the scrutiny of the National Assembly, whose spring session begins on 8 March. After that the draft will be submitted to nationwide discussion and at the beginning of 1990 to a nationwide referendum.

As for the second item on the agenda—the updating of the party's agrarian policy—MSZMP Central Committee Secretary P. Ivanyi, the speaker on this question, stressed the need to improve the land law and to ensure the definitive equalization of rights of all producers of agricultural output—cooperatives, stockraisers, and state farms—in the interests of efficient management on the land.

Academician on Multiparty System in Hungary

LD1902220689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 89

[From "The Week" program; interview with Soviet Academician Oleg Bogomolov by unidentified reporter in Moscow "this week"; Bogomolov speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Reporter] The MSZMP Central Committee has taken a stand in favor of the introduction of a multiparty system. How do you evaluate the changes in Hungary?

[Bogomolov] The Hungarian attempt should be viewed through the prism of broader changes taking place in a number of socialist countries. What is now being discussed in Hungary is also topical, to a certain extent, for others. However, recent experience and the statements of several leaders of the socialist countries, including Mikhail Gorbachev, show that life in the socialist countries is more comlicated than we had presumed. The various strata of society have diverging interests. The problems can be settled in many ways, which means that the coordination of interests and views has to be institutionalized. To reach optimal decisions requires a confrontation of views and related institutions.

[Reporter] Can you imagine a multiparty system in the Soviet Union?

[Bogolomov] Political pluralism is an indispensable condition of democratic socialism or socialist democracy. However, the concrete form of this political pluralism, coming about either through a multiparty system or the emergence of such social organizations that advocate different alternatives within the framework of one-party rule, is to be determined by given historical conditions. Our party has not put the issue of a multiparty system on the agenda for the time being.

[Reporter] You recently said at a news conference that were Hungary to become a neutral country similar to Austria or Sweden, this would not infringe on the interests of the Soviet Union.

[Bogomolov] I was referring to various theories concerning the potential development of Hungarian society. This was an assumption, which would either materialize or not. We cannot exclude the possibility that Hungary will take this direction. It seems plausible that the internal structure and foreign orientation of Hungary would evolve into something like that of Austria and Sweden. But this is not the only possibility.

Perhaps everything will develop differently. In the given case, of course, it is not so much a question of the interests and security of the Soviet Union, as of Hungary's. In my opinion, by the way, this possibility does not threaten the security of the Soviet Union. The security and system of interests of Hungary are another matter. It is up to the Hungarian people to decide what version of internal and external politics they consider suitable. Moreover, the possibilities do not have to be worked out by us in Moscow, but by you, in Hungary.

[Reporter] Do you consider it possible that a neutral Hungary could remain a member of the Warsaw Pact? There has never been an example of such a change.

[Bogomolov] I think that is the most likely decision if matters continue on the indicated path. I do not know if it is this direction which is best for Hungary. Perhaps another road is better.

[Reporter] Do you (?consider) that which would develop after such a great change in the system to be socialism? That is, do you consider the systems in Austria or Sweden to be close to socialism?

[Bogomolov] Modern capitalism should be given a different evaluation from that of the past. If we define socialism as the social system succeeding capitalism, then we should start from the realization that today's capitalist system has been rearing numerous elements of a future society. Today we are witnesses of the development of social ownership under the conditions of the Western countries. Elements of socialism have also been emerging there. Thus, we should have a wider approach to the question, and not simplify our image of a future society the way we used to.

The dividing line might not be drawn by such criteria as profit, or the capital of joint-stock companies, but rather by the distribution of a country's national income—or by the character of the government, and whether political power stands for the interest of the entire society or just certain strata.

Moscow Notes Reduction in Trade With Hungary

LD1902103489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Today is the 41st anniversary of the friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid treaty between the USSR and the People's Republic of Hungary. The notes of our correspondent Vladimir Stefanov [word indistinct] in Budapest, are devoted to the problems of trade relations between our countries.

[Stefanov] These are not the most brilliant times for Soviet-Hungarian trade. A protocol on trade turnover for this year signed not so long ago testifies for the first time not to the traditional expansion of our trade relations but to their quite noticeable decline; in total by almost R1.5 billion. The history of this sad fact relates to a considerable fall in fuel prices in the international market since 1986. Since a large proportion of our exports to Hungary is made up by fuel, the fall in prices led to the situation in which we would have to increase our payments for the same volume of Hungarian imports, greater in terms of commodities.

The Hungarian side wanted to cover this imbalance through our increasing supplies of oil, some types of raw materials, and automobiles. We wished to remove it by cutting our orders for Hungarian machine-building products.

The argument ended in a compromise, reflected in a reduction of our trade turnover from R10 billion in 1988 to R8.6 billion in the current year. Nobody is pleased about it of course, but as they say, there is nothing to be done. [passage omitted]

Further on News Conference on Adamec Visit

PM2202123189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] P. Hrivnak and B. Urban, first deputy premier of the CSSR Government, expressed satisfaction with the progress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks at a news conference held in Moscow on 17 February. They are accompanying L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government, who is in the USSR.

Managing the economy of any country and achieving definite program aims, B. Urban noted, requires the elaboration of long-term prospects. This tenet has been decisive in preparing the concept of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between our countries for the next 15-20 years. The document that has now been agreed on, he stressed, is open-ended: It can be added to, expanded, and clarified depending on joint experience and on changes not only within the framework of our own economies but in the world as a whole.

P. Hrivnak dwelt on the agreement on bilateral cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection, which will be signed during the visit. This document, he pointed out, envisages collaboration between the USSR and the CSSR in acquiring and introducing ecologically safe technologies and in the development of new equipment and materials. It also attaches great significance to educating the population and fostering people in the spirit of respect for the environment.

Members of the CSSR delegation announced their government's intention to transfer 20,000 military servicemen,who will be affected by the reduction stemming from the recent decision, to military construction organizations and to use them, in particular, for reconstructing old cities. In addition to this, there are plans to gradually reduce and ultimately completely terminate output at a number of military enterprises and transfer them to civilian production.

Moscow Meeting Marks CSSR Anniversary

PM2202145689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Public Meeting"]

[Text] In February 1948 the Czechoslovak people made a final choice in favor of the socialist path of development. This was said in Moscow on 21 February at a public meeting to mark the 41st anniversary of the working people's victory over reaction.

It was noted in the speeches that bourgeois circles sought to retard revolutionary transformations and cause a government crisis and attempted to prevent the CPCZ from securing victory in the elections to the National

Assembly. However, the working people's powerful actions in support of the party proved the correctness of its policy. The elections that soon took place under pressure from the people's masses brought a convincing victory to the National Front candidates. A new era began in the country, it was stressed at the meeting, an era offering broad prospects for socioeconomic progress.

Polish Party, Public Debate on Pluralism Viewed

PM2402095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch: "This Difficult Pluralism. PZPR Today"]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb—Socialist renewal is under way in Poland and a radical economic reform is being implemented. How can these processes be accelerated and what is the PZPR's role and place in them—this is the theme of the debates in party organizations that have recently attracted broad public attention.

These party debates also determined the main substance of the resolution of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on the question of political and trade union pluralism. The Central Committee deemed it necessary to formulate its concept of political pluralism anew, in much greater depth, and more precisely. Its implementation will, the Central Committee believes, contribute to strengthening a democratic, rule-of-law, socialist state which will meet the Polish people's requirements most fully. Pluralism must reflect the differences and diversity of the interests, political orientations, and convictions of individual groups and sections of the population; it also must help resolve contradictions and disputes without damaging the state or people and without entailing infringement of laws.

It is clearly appropriate to recall here that the idea of pluralism did not enter the fabric of the country's political life only today or yesterday. It has merely been further developed now. The many months of "preparations" for the "roundtable" involving participation by representatives of the official authorities, the clergy, various social movements, and the constructive opposition without any preconditions were themselves a decisive step by the PZPR to meet halfway all the other forces interested in achieving national accord and ensuring that the country overcomes as swiftly as possible the crisis phenomena in the economic and political spheres.

After the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, when the orientation toward pluralism of opinions and partnership had gained an objective basis, a whole series of politicians and public figures were in total agreement: The plenum finally cleared the way for the "roundtable." And, quite naturally, the question of "Solidarity" again arose.

As reported in the press, the "roundtable" has begun. A difficult discussion has begun, and, judging by appearances, it will be protracted.

The plenum noted in its resolution: The further renewal of socialism calls for a profound reform of the party. The Central Committee will act resolutely, backing appropriate changes in the party's structure and working methods in order to ensure that it implements its role more effectively in Polish society and in the conditions of a socialist market economy.

The party regularly consults the people on key issues. A meeting between the government and 3,000 enterprise directors from various sectors of the national economy was held in the capital, during which the production managers were acquainted with the mechanisms and principles of economic policy which have come into force as a result of the package of new laws just adopted by the Sejm. It was noted once again that the decisive factor in forming the new model of socialism which has found real expression in the decision of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum was and is the economy. There is particular concern over the depreciation of money, which intensified in the final months of last year and is literally destroying the market. The task is to arrest this process as quickly as possible and to prevent another race between prices and wages, which is fraught with yet another round of inflation.

The plenum comprehensively substantiated the party's current political platform and enshrined in its resolution guarantees which will make it impossible to renege on implementing what has been outlined: a preponderance of public ownership in the national economy; the leading role of the working class, performed in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia; the role and status of the party, which, by improving its democratic mechanisms and in collaboration with all Polish left-wing forces, is constantly and actively confirming its right to a leading position in society; and Poland's firm place in the community of socialist countries.

"Socialism in its deepest essence, which has, unfortunately, been simplified and frequently distorted over the decades, must mean the broadest democracy in both form and content," W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said in his speech when opening the second part of the plenum. "If the party intends to define the spheres of further democratic reforms today, it must pursue the development of pluralism of opinions and decisions. A radical and irreversible restructuring of social life in which all the country's citizens who share socialist ideas can take part is in the forefront now. During the 2 and ½ years since the 10th PZPR Congress a difficult path toward emergence has been covered. Hardly anyone will deny the achievements in overcoming the crisis. However, today any achievement can serve only as a modest starting point for further work."

Noticeable changes have taken place within the party in recent years, although, as was self-critically noted at the last plenum, they have been inconsistent and have not always been in line with the spirit of the times and the needs of the people. Incidentally, we must not forget that

the serious economic problems sometimes evoke people's dissatisfaction. This is why many of the participants in the plenum debate warned that the party must not lose sight of economic concerns for even a moment. This applies above all to the implementation of the plan for consolidating the national economy during the next 2 years. The current problems and tasks in the further development of the country are of key, historic importance. Poland needs a strong and healthy party as a guarantor of the reforms being implemented.

Alarm and pain were voiced in some speeches when plenum participants described the state of the party. E. Gorajek, member of the Central Committee and team leader at the "Stomil" rubber industry plant in Torun Voivodship, focused attention on the impermissibility of bureaucratic phenomena in apparatus work. E. Kowalec, chairman of the board of an agricultural cooperative in Zborowskie, proposed that district party committees coinciding in territorial terms with the electoral districts of people's councils be set up because at present the party's influence extends mainly on the sectorial principle and consequently the PZPR's influence in certain residential areas is very insignificant.

Poland and its future, and the party and its role and place in society were the main themes of the speech delivered at the plenum by M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. He likened the country and the party to a car which is negotiating a sharp curve where everything depends on the skill of the driver. Anyone who believes that minor corrections and improvements can ensure a socialist path of development for Poland and the retention of the party's leading role is deeply mistaken. The people expect radical changes and an efficient and effective policy. Concerning "Solidarity," the head of government noted that the draft Central Committee decision unequivocally defines the attitude toward those forces which advocate genuine trade union pluralism: Let democracy apply here too—let this organization acquire legal status.

M. Rakowski proposed that a trial period until May 1991 be introduced for "Solidarity." During this period the trade union must show itself a constructive force, observe the principles which determine the nature of partnership, and refrain from organizing strikes destructive of the country's economy and from accepting monetary grants from abroad.

People in Poland often ask themselves: What kind of Poland, what kind of socialism, what kind of party do we want? The Third PZPR National Theoretical and Ideological Conference, held in February, answered these questions to a certain extent. The need for the conference was dictated by the awareness that the forms of sociopolitical system which have existed hitherto have exhausted their ability to effectively resolve key questions of the country's development. The changes taking place in social relations, in the organization and management of the economy, and in the political system and the party were subjected to a theoretical analysis. Profound and often innovative recommendations were elaborated. The structure of the party organs is changing before our very eyes. Take, for instance, the Central Committee apparatus. It is being cut by 45 percent. Many departments are being abolished. Instead, 15 commissions are being set up in which the party aktiv and well-known specialists—headed by members and candidate members of the Politburo and Central Committee secretaries—are widely involved.

People's Poland and the PZPR are going through difficult days. A most serious collective discussion on the fate of the party and the country was held at the plenum, a discussion about rebirth, in the direct sense of the word, about a high sense of responsibility for this process on the part of every Pole. Meanwhile a strike was under way in Pabianice, near Lodz—people were demanding higher wages.

There is no money in the kitty. The enterprise pays according to its means, according to its profits, and hence according to the level of labor productivity. What is this? Unwillingness to accept even temporary belt-tightening? How can you conjure wealth out of nothing? The negotiations with the strikers did not produce any results. Then a letter arrived from the bank announcing a suspension of credit in connection with the losses stemming from the production stoppage. The factory was actually threatened with closure. Only then did work resume.

...Nevertheless, strikes are continuing. During February, which is not yet over, 80 collective labor conflicts have been recorded, according to official figures, and up to 50,000 people have taken part in strikes. At the same time the "roundtable" is under way. At it people are intensively seeking and, it must be noted, already beginning to feel their way to a unified platform of consensus on questions of the economy and social policy and on a program for a broad pluralistic approach to solving Polish society's most painful problems.

What the overwhelming majority of Poles want today is social tranquility.

*Polish-Language Daily Increasing Circulation

WA18000495 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with CZERWONY SZTANDAR editor Zbigniew Balcewicz by IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy in Vilnius: "Every Morning the Newspaper CZERWONY SZTANDAR Speaks to Its Readers in Polish"; date not given]

[Text] [Kapelyushnyy] What do I look for in each new issue of CZERWONY SZTANDAR? Information about the processes taking place in the Polish diaspora, of course. This diaspora, by the way, is not so small: About 1.5 million Poles live here in the country, from the borders in the west to the most remote districts. The

Polish-language CZERWONY SZTANDAR ("Red Banner") is the only full-fledged daily of its kind—an organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee that last summer marked its 35th anniversary.

What do I find? Every issue contains information on the economy and cultural life. Many journalists write about the Polish school. No less about the need to create a network of preschool Polish institutions; up to now only the first kindergartens have appeared. What is the countryside like around Vilnius and how does it differ from the purely Lithuanian? What kind of role does the Polish intelligentsia play in the spiritual life of the diaspora? The newspaper is always publishing material from its correspondents in Poland.

I ask the editor of the newspaper, Zbigniew Balcewicz: There is such a broad circle of readers, settled in such a dispersed fashion; we might even use the word diaspora, might we not?

[Balcewicz] A circle, yes. But not the circulation. This is still small. Of course, we could blame the journalists for this but it must also be said that there has not been a strong demand among the Poles dispersed throughout the country for news in Polish. The circulation remained steady for a long time, what we call "afloat," and it has been only during the latest subscription campaign that we have been affected and received orders for several thousand additional copies.

[Kapelyushnyy] Zbigniew Petrovich, until recently you were not an associate but a reader of CZERWONY SZTANDAR. it is probable that you did not like everything in the newspaper. Now... everything is in your hands....

[Balcewicz] Both then and now I believe that CZERWONY SZTANDAR should be not simply a Polish-language newspaper but first and foremost a newspaper for Soviet Poles. We may be reproached for writing more on general subjects without focusing attention on national problems. But this is a reproach with reservations. Long before the problem of the Lithuanian language as the official language became a problem throughout the republic, our CZERWONY SZTANDAR was writing about incomplete programs for the study of Lithuanian, and about poor textbooks and weak methodology. Unfortunately, little has changed even today. Try to purchase a Lithuanian-Polish or Polish-Lithuanian textbook or dictionary in the republic today—you cannot.

Recognition of Lithuanian as the official language should be accompanied by the creation of reliable rear services—a well-devised program for people who do not know it to be able to study it and a solid scientific and material base.

[Kapelyushnyy] In your newspaper you propose the introduction of mandatory examinations in Lithuanian in Polish schools. What are your readers saying?

[Balcewicz] The readers are in solidarity with us. Everyone understands that a knowledge of Lithuanian helps a great deal in dealings with our fellow countrymen. The question is: How do you learn it? It must be said that the Polish population would like to have legislative guarantees for the development of their own language also. This is indicated by the enormous amount of mail from readers. I recall some lines from one letter that was signed by hundreds of people: People's power must speak with the people in their own language. The key to understanding is precisely bilingualism and trilingualism....

[Kapelyushnyy] In recent issues you have been preparing readers for the census. Do the Poles have problems of their own?

[Balcewicz] Yes. The Polish population is a minority in Lithuania and it lives under conditions of trilingualism. But the census proposes that in addition to the native tongue, only one of the languages of the peoples of the USSR will be entered as a second language. This means, does it not, that the latest material will show that Poles do not speak Russian? Or Lithuanian?

[Kapelyushnyy] I once set a serious task for your colleagues: They translated a speech by a Polish state figure from Russian into Polish....

[Balcewicz] A direct link with the Polish Information Agency (PAP) remains for us a dream. I think that even the nonprofessionals understand that it is very difficult to produce a Polish-language newspaper without a reliable link with Poland. We have a broad circle of authors in Poland; they eagerly write for us, and our associates often take trips to Poland, but as you see, we still have to translate Polish into Polish. We also dream of having own correspondents at the places in the USSR where the largest concentrations of Poles are found. Now, for example, we have sent a correspondent to Lvov to report on the opening of the Polish popular theater. But why not have our own office there? Or in Grodno Oblast, where more than 200,000 Poles live?

We do not claim the status of an all-union Polish-language newspaper, but obviously the time has come to think about creating conditions for a larger newspaper to publicize the life of the Polish diaspora not only in Lithuania.

[Kapelyushnyy] Obviously you will not get away without the traditional question about creative plans. What shall we be reading in tomorrow's issue?

[Balcewicz] The newspaper continues the line of enhancing the role of the reader. Unfortunately, this is a painful subject for us. Very many teachers in the schools of the Vilnius area live in the city, and they are moving into the countryside. We plan to analyze in greater depth the state of affairs in our agrarian workshop and take up the issue of creating a strong farmstead-based agriculture.

The subject of native language will also be topical. And, of course, all those issues that are now worrying us all—glasnost, democratization, economic independence, politics, culture.

The slogan for the newspaper is: Concern for the reader is our concern.

West Europe

Gerasimov Arrives for Talks in Cyprus

LD2302071689 Moscow TASS in English 0713 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Nicosia February 23 TASS—Head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Gennadiy Gerasimov arrived in Cyprus on Wednesday.

He is to have talks at the state apparatus of the Republic, and meet leaders of the main political parties.

In Cyprus it is believed that the USSR's consistent and constructive stand on the Cyprus problem can make an important contribution to stability in the region.

Ryzhkov, Biryukova Receive Turkish Minister

PM2402122789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] On 23 February N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Ahmet Alptemucin, Turkish minister of finance and customs and cochairman of the Soviet-Turkish Mixed Commission on Economic Cooperation, who has come to Moscow in connection with a working meeting of the commission's cochairmen and to participate in the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone of a hospital for Great Patriotic War invalids, which will be built by the well-known Turkish construction firm Enka.

A. Alptemucin handed N.I. Ryzhkov a message from Turkish Prime Minister T. Ozal.

During the talks both sides made a positive assessment of the state of Soviet-Turkish relations. The Soviet Union, as the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers pointed out, attaches great significance to the development of good-neighborly relations with Turkey both on a bilateral plane and from the viewpoint of strengthening confidence and security in Europe and Asia and improving the international situation as a whole. Increasingly favorable conditions for broadening Soviet-Turkish cooperation will take shape as the new political thinking is asserted in international relations and restructuring is deepened in the Soviet Union.

A. Alptemucin said that Turkey is following with attention and great interest the political restructuring underway in the USSR and wishes it every success. This attitude is manifested not only at the level of the state leadership but also by the general public.

There was an in-depth exchange of opinions concerning possible ways to further develop mutually advantageous trade and economic ties between the USSR and Turkey. In particular, proposals to increase purchases of consumer goods from Turkey, to construct light and processing industry enterprises and sociocultural projects on Soviet territory, and for Soviet contract organizations to participate in the modernization and construction of railroads and power and other heavy industrial projects in Turkey were examined.

K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations and cochairman of the Soviet-Turkish Mixed Commission on Economic Cooperation, and Volkan Vural, Turkish ambassador to the USSR, participated in the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere.

On the same day A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received A. Alptemucin. Questions of the development of trade and economic ties between the USSR and Turkey in the sphere of producing consumer goods were discussed in the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere.

Thatcher-Kohl Talks Search for Compromises

PM2302090089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Article by Yevgeniy Grigoryev under the rubric "A Correspondent Comments": "'Rendez-Vous' in Frankfurt-am-Main"]

[Text] Bonn, 21 Feb—Regardless of which Western ally goes to the FRG at this time, the same collection of basic topics appears on the conference table: East-West relations, the question of "modernization" of short-range missiles, and problems associated with West European integration. The Anglo-West German consultations also "revolved" around these issues. They ended today in Frankfurt-am-Main. The composition of the participants was substantial: heads of government M. Thatcher and H. Kohl, and the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs, defense, economy, internal affairs, and agriculture.

It is well known that there are plenty of problems, and acute ones at that, in Anglo-West German relations. As the newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE observed today, "whereas difficulties between Paris and Bonn are usually shrouded in a polite mist of general goodwill, differences between London and Bonn are displayed openly." Perhaps this is partly due to the character of the "iron lady," who often speaks with no

particular diplomacy. People here were highly displeased, for instance, when speaking in Bruges last fall, she destroyed a number of castles in the air erected by the Bonn leaders around the approaching formation of a single EEC internal market.

In Frankfurt-am-Main, it was evidently not for nothing that M. Thatcher headed first of all for the Deutsche Bundesbank, that fortress of the enviably healthy Deutschmark. The fact is that highly realistic financial circles, by all appearances, are similarly skeptical about certain political schemes for financial cooperation in the EEC. In principle London, of course, supports West European integration and participates in it. But London is not consumed by the desire to fling the defensive armor of its economic sovereignty into the common melting pot, still less that of its political sovereignty. Bonn, however, as the mightiest economic figure in Western Europe, calls, on the contrary, for a radical leap forward along the road of integration. The present talks between M. Thatcher and H. Kohl in Frankfurt-am-Main could hardly change anything in their approaches to these problems.

The exchange of opinions on the question of so-called modernization of short-range nuclear systems brought nothing new. London, according to the West German press, looks like a lobbyist for Washington on this question, insisting that Bonn consent to a new round of the nuclear race in NATO. The chancellor's position is repeated day after day: no decision on the "production" of new American nuclear missiles to replace the present "Lances" until 1991-1992, and the formulation of a joint NATO plan both defining the need for short-range nuclear weapons and giving a mandate for talks on reducing them to a lower level. As for the strategy of the "approach to Moscow," here the British side shows more "firmness," which takes the form of emphasizing the significance of the need for a "strong defense capability" for the NATO countries as a basis for talks and relations with the Soviet Union. In reality Bonn is by no means opposed to the implementation of the NATO programs that have been put forward; on the contrary—it tends not to make this known, however, in view of the unpopularity of these programs among the population.

In bilateral ties between Bonn and London a complex process of acclimatization is taking place to various processes and the attendant friction in the European Community. Here a desire for compromise can also be seen. Or, on the other hand, a desire for potential benefits. Thus the leaders of the military departments got into an argument in Frankfurt-am-Main—not for the first time—about which radar system to install on the so-called joint "fighter of the nineties"—British or American? Bonn clearly has the trump card because West German electronics firms take part in the production of both systems. The West German side can argue in terms of the choice of quality, while the British have to seek the order for their own firms.

Consultations are consultations. No one was expecting decisions. But this mechanism does help, and quite well, to clarify positions, gauge the atmosphere of allied relations within the bilateral and NATO framework, and, finally, prepare compromises. After all, whatever the differences between Bonn and London, both sides are talking about "close, solid relations." All the same, after the Frankfurt consultations there were clearly plenty of unresolved questions remaining: A new meeting between M. Thatcher and H. Kohl was agreed on. It is to take place in April—once again outside Bonn, but in the FRG, at the chancellor's house in Oggersheim.

French Joining of NATO System Questioned

PM1402162989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent dispatch: "Step Toward NATO"]

[Text] Paris—According to press reports France has come up with an initiative which will have far-reaching military and political consequences for the country.

After several years of hesitation, Paris is initiating talks on joining the new NATO Airborne Command and Control System. Work to set up this Fr150-billion system will start in 1991. It is scheduled to take 15 years.

According to the newspaper LIBERATION, the decision was made by President F. Mitterrand personally after meeting with Foreign Minister R. Dumas and Defense Minister J.-P. Chevenement. Negotiations with NATO in Brussels were carried out by G. Robin, the French ambassador to that organization.

Paris started studying the question back in the early eighties, when NATO began developing the principles of the new system, which is designed to replace the existing ground-based air defense system, whose radar is constantly monitoring the other side of the NATO alliance' borders. Despite the fact that France left the NATO military organization in 1966, it remained a member of its air defense system, supplying information relating to its territory and receiving data on other countries in return. Today French Air Force radar receives signals transmitted by NATO AWACS aircraft.

What is the point of the Airborne Command and Control System? It will be used by NATO to strike against an enemy from the very first hours of a conflict and to monitor the entire European Continent. The military are particularly insistent about France joining the Airborne Command and Control System, asserting that if this is not done the country will be isolated and its allies will be unable to obtain information about French territory.

However, this step, LIBERATION stresses, will present Paris with serious political problems. NATO's integrated military command will start using the new air defense system not only to gather information but to carry out

command functions (in particular, it will issue orders to warplanes). Under these circumstances, observers are asking, how will France be able to retain its independent position within NATO?

The press believes the coming talks in Brussels will discuss not whether France will join the new air defense system but the conditions under which it will do so.

Therefore France wants the Airborne Command and Control System to be under the jurisdiction of the permanent council rather than the integrated military command. Moreover, Paris is insisting that in the event of dissension between the NATO integrated command and the French authorities, issues would be resolved by the council rather than by military authorities.

However, all these conditions and stipulations do not alter the essence of the adopted decision. France' membership in the new air defense system will mark a new type of relations between it and the NATO alliance, stresses LIBERATION, which asks whether this marks a revision of De Gaulle's principles of national independence. "Some people think it does," the newspaper replies.

All this somehow does not square with the positive changes taking place in the world—detente, confidence-building, and arms reduction.

Threatens French Forces' 'Independence'

LD1702093589 Moscow International Service in French 1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Gabriel Robin, France' permanent representative at the NATO Council, will shortly have talks in Brussels with NATO chiefs about integrating France into NATO's new comand and control system. The French leadership has decided to take part in this project, whose implementation will begin in 1991.

Paris stresses with (?monotonous) obstinacy that France preserves, and will continue to preserve, its independence from NATO's military structures, and that there cannot even be any question of modifying the independent status of the French Armed Forces. The more they talk about this, however, the more they do to expand military links with NATO, and this compromises their independent status. For example, not so long ago Paris authorized the Royal Navy to make stopovers in the French channel ports to pick up supplies for British units stationed on the continent. The U.S. Navy already has this authorization for French ports in the Mediterranean, and French units are taking an increasingly active part in NATO army and navy exercises.

But France' envisioned integration into the NATO command and control system is the most important step in more than 20 years in reestablishing links between France and NATO. Today Paris already benefits from information from NATO's air defense system, supplying in return its own information on the air situation in the Mediterranean zone and on Europe's Atlantic coast. The French command has its own air defense system; although it is linked with NATO's, it remains under French command.

France' envisioned participation in NATO's new air defense system brings a new element into Paris' relations with the NATO command. The fact is that this new system will not serve simply to gather intelligence about the air situation over the European Continent as a whole, but will also serve to command NATO's conventional and nuclear forces and, in a conflict, to give orders for military operations. The new system will make it possible not only to detect and track enemy aircraft, but also to launch interceptor aircraft. The system will also be linked into the new electronic command system for the alliance' land armies. According to the logic of how the NATO system functions, this latter system could automatically engage French conventional and nuclear weapons. Is it not the case that the French air defense system will not only monitor the situation on European territory by means of NATO's electronic system but will also operate under its command?

Paris is currently seeking a way to preserve its independent status vis-a-vis NATO's integrated command while also becoming part of this NATO project. However, this is only a matter of form, because in essence France' very participation in this project calls into question the true independence of the French Armed Forces, an independence which was recovered after its withdrawal from NATO's military structures in 1966. So the intention is not to place under the command of these structures a small fragment of French sovereignty, but something much more important.

Soviet-French Commission Session 'Successful'

PM2102140789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1,5

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "After the 'Grand Commission'"]

[Text] Paris, 20 Feb—The general opinion of the participants in the 23d session of the Soviet-French ("Grand") Commission on Scientific, Technical, and Economic Cooperation that has just completed its work in Paris is that is was far more successful than all the previous sessions.

P. Beregovoy, minister of economy, finance, and budget who chaired the session, and Soviet delegation head L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, talked to journalists in detail about its results.

One of the most important results of the work of the "grand commission" is the elaboration of an agreement on mutual protection of capital investments. An accord

has been secured for France to supply the Soviet Union with 600,000 tonnes of ferrous metallurgical output over the next 2 years. A contract has been agreed on in principle with the "Thomson" group on producing 500,000 color televisions in the Soviet Union. An accord has been secured for the first time on major joint projects in the sphere of the peaceful utilization of nuclear power.

The problem of instructing Soviet specialists in France on modern methods of performing business operations and marketing, without which joint enterprises cannot operate, is also of great interest to us. The directors of leading Soviet enterprises that have obtained the right to trade on the world market and leaders of French medium-size and small firms, who were invited to take part in the work of the "grand commission" for the first time, talked about this in particular.

Some 15 joint Soviet-French enterprises have already been set up. They are diverse. At present the largest one is the "Pechiney" firm's plant to produce aluminum foil to be built in Armenia. P. Beregovoy announced that over the next few years French firms will carry out a whole series of joint projects to produce consumer goods in the USSR, build hotels, and develop tourism and other projects worth more than Fr5 billion. France is now in third place behind the FRG and Finland in terms of the number of joint enterprises it has set up with us, and it ranks fourth for commodity turnover among capitalist countries trading with the USSR.

Our trade with France grew appreciably in 1988, increasing by 6 percent, whereas the USSR's commodity turnover with other capitalist countries rose by an average of only 2.5 percent. Nevertheless both we and the French feel a sense of dissatisfaction with the state of our trade and economic relations. The point is that there are a number of obstacles preventing a broad range of goods from being imported into France from the Soviet Union—this is brought about by Paris' definite pledges to the "Common Market" and its other partners. At the same time the draconian Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls lists, whereby the delivery of virtually any progressive technology to the USSR is prohibited, are still in force.

Numerous prohibitions often lead to the breakdown of contacts that are mutually advantageous for our countries. This is one of the reasons for France's trade deficit with the USSR. According to LES ECHOS' calculations, in 1988 the Soviet-French trade imbalance totaled Fr5.5 billion—and this was not in Paris' favor. This is despite the fact that French exports to the USSR rose during that period by 10 percent and the increase in imports dropped for the first time in many years.

Both the Soviet Union and France are showing goodwill to resolve these problems to their mutual advantage. The improved political climate in relations between our countries considerably facilitates this.

In response to your correspondent's questions as to what the Soviet consumer will obtain directly from the dialogue that took place within the framework of the 23d session of the "grand commission," L.A. Voronin said that in principle it is now possible to reach an agreement for France to buy additional Soviet gas. The USSR is ready buy consumer goods here to the same value.

Thus, the latest session of the "grand commission" has come to an end. In the opinion of both sides, it was successful. Let's hope that everything on which it proved possible to reach agreement in Paris will become concrete agreements and actions in the near future.

Swedish Report on Submarine Violations Viewed

LD1902001189 Moscow International Service in Swedish 1900 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Oleg Vokulovskiy commentary]

[Text] Yesterday Bengt Gustafsson, commander in chief of the Swedish Armed Forces, presented his new report on the violations last year of Swedish territorial waters by foreign submarines. You will hear a commentary by Oleg Vokulovskiy:

[Vokulovskiy] Good evening. The report says that the violations continued to the same extent as the year before. As far as the nationality of the submarines is concerned, it says that [words indistinct] report as it has been published. It is truly strange that the Swedish military once again did not see to it that the secret part of the report did not appear. This secret part naturally became public property, for the [word indistinct] press as well as the official one. DAGENS NYHETER happily told its readers in advance that the secret part of the material points out that the violating submarines are Soviet. Furthermore, DAGENS NYHETER points out with disappointment that the details are not of such a character that diplomatic measures could be taken against the Soviet Union.

That is why they are marked absolutely secret—so absolutely every schoolchild knows them by now. But that is not so dangerous. On the other hand, the Soviet Union once again may not know anything of the evidence that these submarines in Swedish waters are really Soviet. One may neither see nor hear this evidence, because it is so secret. That is how it was exactly a year ago, when one could neither see nor hear anything when the Swedish military presented its report on the violations. The Swedish press immediately reported on the secret part of the report, in which there was talk of Soviet submarines. Nor was there any chance to get at the evidence then, either, when the (?champions of Swedish) [word indistinct] claimed that they had irrefutable evidence that it was the Soviet Union that was doing this scarcely (?honorable) underwater trafficking.

The same thing is repeated time after time, repeated because it is a (?great practice). If you want to pretend you have evidence when there really is none, you simply mark it secret and then see that the information leaks out in a suitable way—especially if people believe more in leaks than in official statements. Secrecy is a good thing. True, sometimes it can also turn out to be very damaging to the society that is manipulated by this secrecy. We in the Soviet Union have begun to realize this today. We wish the Swedish General Staff would soon do the same.

Finnish President Sends Message to Gorbachev

PM2102145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Aboard Aircraft"]

[Text] Finnish President M. Koivisto sent M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a telegram 20 February from on board an aircraft. In particular, it expressed best wishes to the Soviet leadership and people in implementing the large-scale tasks in the interests of our country's social and economic development.

The telegram noted the traditionally favorable character of Soviet-Finnish relations and the good prospects for developing them, and expressed interest in further deepening cooperation between our two countries in light of the new demands of the day.

TV Cooperation Protocol Signed With FRG

LD2102012389 Moscow TASS in English 2257 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—A working protocol on cooperation between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the second West Germany TV network (ZDF) for 1989 was signed in Moscow on February 20. Provision is made for the further development of exchanges in TV programmes and other TV materials on life in the USSR and the FRG, for giving mutual assistance to TV journalists and filming groups in preparing TV stories on important events in the two countries.

Special attention was given to preparation of TV programmes in connection with the official visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG next June. The document was signed by Aleksey Aksyonov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Professor Dieter Stolte, ZDF director general.

Petrovskiy Meets With FRG News Agency Chiefs

PM2202123389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 17 February V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, received the leaders of DPA, West Germany's main news agency. During his conversation with W. Richtberg, chairman of the DPA board, and H. Benirschke, the agency's chief editor, there was an exchange of opinions on the place and role of the mass media in the conditions of peaceful, civilized communication between states. They also touched on several issues concerning the development of relations between the USSR and the FRG.

European Deputy's Interview Criticized

PM2102113789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[TASS-attributed article by V. Yanchenkov: "Just a View? What the European Parliament Delegation Preached to Latvian Youth, and How"]

[Text] "Latvia: View From European Parliament"—that was the headline under which SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, a Latvian republican newspaper, published on 14 February a lengthy interview with Hans-Joachim Seeler, leader of a delegation from the European Parliament's Baltic group who was visiting this Soviet republic.

Today, in an atmosphere of broad democracy and glasnost, Soviet people willingly make contacts with foreign guests and are interested in their impressions and opinions about our country and restructuring, particularly if they are constructive and amicable.

Here I got another outside view. Recognizing that "the Soviet Union now faces a long and difficult path of democratic transformations," H.-J. Seeler decided to discuss the problems of political culture in the USSR and the expansion of international contacts, and tried to give an assessment of the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics. Here the most incredible "discoveries" awaited young readers.

Judge for yourselves. "I would like to add," the guest stated, "that the Soviet Union is the only state in the world which last century (!?), like Britain, Germany, and other major powers, seized many foreign territories and still holds on to them." One can only be amazed at the audacity with which this respected figure from the European Parliament demonstrates his basic incompetence in questions of history, for I think that even Hamburg schoolchildren (Mr Seeler is a native of that city) know that the USSR was formed as a socialist state in 1922.

There is more to come. Without a second's hesitation, the foreign guest begins to lecture in a peremptory tone the newspaper's readers on how to live and in what direction to develop political structures. "The Baltic peoples," he proclaims, "must have the right to decide

their own fate—including whether they should be part of the USSR or whether they should use their right to self-determination in another way." This, you will agree, is not simply an outside view, but a quite unequivocal attempt to interfere in a sovereign state's internal affairs which smacks of clear provocation.

But even that is not all. In the opinion of the leader of the European Parliament delegation, "there is no problem with the Baltic republics having their own citizenship" and "there is some sense in introducing a Baltic ruble for all three Baltic states." Finally, asked whether an expansion of contacts between Latvia and the European Parliament can be expected in the near future, H.-J. Seeler stated: "Of course. It is true that now is a tense time for us—elections to the European Parliament will be held in June. After the elections, I think, the Baltic group will be able once again to send a delegation and invite representatives from the Latvian People's Front and 'Sajudis' to visit West Europe."

So there you have it, esteemed reader. All this was said in far from diplomatic language. I do not think that the foreign guest's revelations were a credit to the youth paper which published the interview.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Speaks on El Salvador Accords, Elections

LD2402022989 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Managua February 22 TASS—About 50,000 Managuans converged on Revolution Square Tuesday [21 February] to pledge support for the Sandinista National Liberation Front and its measures to rehabilitate the economy and bring peace to the Republic.

The meeting, held in time for the 55th anniversary of the assassination of Nicaraguan revolutionary and patriot Augusto Sandino, displayed the front's great popularity among the people, who are ready, notwithstanding huge difficulties, to continue to carry out revolutionary transformations, to consolidate sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua.

Speaking at the meeting, Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega said that the Sandinista Front was ready for free and fair elections, scheduled for February 25, 1990. The opposition political parties should participate in elections without any strings attached, he said. In the course of the elections the Nicaraguan people themselves will decide which political force they will stand by.

Touching upon the opposition's demands of changes in the Constitution, the Nicaraguan leader said it would be undemocratic to meet these demands contrary to the people's will. If Nicaraguans demand changes in the Constitution, the country's basic law will surely be reformed.

Speaking of the extraordinary measures to overcome the economic crisis, Daniel Ortega said that these measures are aimed at improving the living standards of the general public and should be put into life through the efforts of the entire society. Rigid economy measures by no means signify a departure from revolutionary principles, he said. Peasants will continue to own land which was handed over to them before. The Nicaraguan Government does not intend to denationalise the national banks or take other steps contrary to the interests of the people.

There will be no threat to the revolutionary Republic only when contra bases are removed from the territory of neighbouring Honduras, as is called for by the agreements reached in El Salvador by five Central American presidents. A threat to Nicaragua from the United States will lessen in this case, since the contras were for the former Washington administration a tool of conducting an aggressive policy vis-a-vis the Republic, the president said.

In line with the El Salvador agreements, Nicaragua's Government will submit to parliament on February 28 an application for the release of 1,700 former Somoza guards from prison.

Radio Airs Trade Promotion Advertisement

PA1902004989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio in Spanish to Latin America at 0000 GMT on 17 February carries the following trade promotion advertisement during its regularly scheduled programming:

"This is Radio Moscow Listeners Club trade information center. The future belongs to Mercury, the god of trade, and not to Mars, the god of war. With this slogan, we are addressing entrepreneurs and businessmen wishing to do businesses with the USSR and all those who believe strengthening economic cooperation is an alternative to military plans and the arms race.

"In brief, as we have already said: Those who believe the future belongs to Mercury, god of trade, and not to Mars, god of war: New contracts, addendums to agreements currently in effect, Soviet importers and exporters, Soviet goods sold in Latin American countries, activities of mixed enterprises, foreign enterprises in the USSR—you can learn about all this and much more in our program.

"Dear businessmen, our trade center is willing to help you if you want to make contacts with a Soviet company or organization. We remind you of our address: Radio Moscow Listeners Club Trade Information Center, 25 (?Pyatyevskaya) Street, Moscow, USSR.

"We repeat: Radio Moscow Listeners Club Trade Information Center, 25 (?Pyatyevskaya) Street, Moscow, USSR.

"You can also contact us by telex. Our telex number is: 411136."

Political & Social

Continued Coverage of Gorbachev's Visit to Ukraine

Gorbachev Addresses Donbass Miners

PM2302164589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Feb 89 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "Workers' Guarantee of Restructuring: M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Donbass Miners"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, M.S. Gorbachev had a meeting with the miners of the Donetsk coalfield in Donetsk on 22 February.

Opening the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said:

Dear comrades, I am glad to meet you. We have come to the Ukraine in eventful, crucial times. Profound changes are taking place in the country. It is important that they develop successfully in every republic, that restructuring gathers speed. Each republic should make the maximum possible contribution to our revolutionary changes, otherwise restructuring will grind to a halt. Especially when we are talking about the Ukraine, a republic with enormous potential.

In our country we have an integrated national economic complex. The slightest hitch in one region or component rapidly affects our general position. You remember the events in Nagornyy Karabakh. A small autonomous oblast, but it is linked economically, through cooperation, with other regions. As soon as the stoppages began there, the country immediately felt them. Just imagine if such stoppages were to begin in a republic like the Ukraine, where more than 51 million people live and work. Everything would be disrupted then. And restructuring in the country would be halted. Therefore, we all have an interest in ensuring that things go well in every sphere in the Ukraine.

Major processes have been launched in the republic and the working people are mastering the 5-year plan targets. That is important, comrades. When economic relations are being restructured and the modernization of all sectors is under way with a view to opening up the way for new machinery and technology—this is always a difficult period. At this time it is necessary to maintain production at the necessary level. And the production associated with the Ukraine is the power industry, machine building, a huge agro-industrial complex, chemicals, electronics. The economy of the Ukraine is very important for the entire Soviet Union.

That is why I would like to give the miners the floor. Our trip to the Donbass did not happen by chance. We had to come to this mining area to meet with people, listen to them, find out how things are going here, what your mood is, how restructuring is going in the Donetsk region, where you have succeeded and where you have not, what worries you, how the Donetsk region sees the whole country and the whole of restructuring, what you think is right and what should be changed and improved. Please speak without notes. The main thing is for our discussion to be conducted with a miner's directness. I know you are direct people. Say what you think. [Gorbachev ends]

A.I. Lyashok, breakage face workers' team leader at the A.G. Stakhanov pit of the "Krasnoarmeyskugol" Production Association, took the floor. [passage omitted]

Concluding the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said: I value such conversations. I love to visit enterprises, get a feeling for the nature of production, talk with people. I have visited mines before, though, true, only in Stavropol Kray. There the conditions are different, the equipment is different, but in general I have some idea about your sector, a complex, very responsible area of work. And the last speaker was right to say that a miner cannot be unprofessional. He is like a sapper; his is a very responsible job; he must not make any mistakes. But that is a specialized discussion. I wish to stress that talks like this with people on the front line of our economy are very important. They help us to understand better how big politics are interpreted directly in the collective, at the workplace; how individuals receive it.

In recent years meetings like this have become simply essential. Formerly they were of no use. Everything was fine and smooth at those meetings. But now that we talk with one another frankly and in a businesslike way, now that it is important for all of us to know what is happening in the country, now that everyone cares about the country's general affairs, meetings with people are entirely different in nature. Especially here in the Donbass, a very important region of our country.

The first thing I would like to stress is the position of the working class. This has always been of crucial significance in the formulation of the correct policy on the most important, topical matters. And today our main policy is restructuring. Without that policy—and this has emerged quite clearly here today—it is inconceivable to hope for progress, movement forward, improvements in all spheres of our society's life. This is absolutely clear, and it gives strong support to us, the leadership of the country and the republic.

The special slogan of today is: Not a single step back from restructuring. Not only not a single step back; we must not stop, we must go forward steadily.

Second, the comrades rightly say: We need action and concrete results. And the fact that today the miners, expressing their position, their attitude toward the policy, also told us what they are doing to back up this policy with action, with results, in work and in the provision of facilities for life, is very important. That is what we need. It is true, comrades. The idea of constructive work must now be brought to the fore—brought to the fore in conversations and in businesslike debates. It

must today be the most important, decisive idea in the press, on television, and in all the mass media. It is necessary to advance restructuring with concrete action, avoiding "eulogies" of restructuring. In the past we were often let down by the gulf between word and deed. There were good decisions and initiatives in the past, too, but not being backed up by action, they came to nothing.

Today, in order to prevent this, we are launching economic and political reforms, developing openness, glasnost, and democracy, and maintaining criticism at the proper level. All this is necessary; it is the normal environment of restructuring. Some people would like to shirk this criticism, to hide from this searchlight beam. No, we will continue to need criticism, comrades. But today in every sector, every collective, and every region there is already considerable positive experience, accumulated in the course of restructuring. The country should know about it so that everyone can extract something from this experience and apply it for himself. This is of decisive significance now. It is therefore extremely important promptly to disseminate and propagandize leading experience and all the best things arising from restructuring. This is one of the main tasks of workers on the ideological front, the mass media. Restructuring is everyone's work. It is no use hoping that people will do things for us and present them to us ready-made, "on a silver platter."

Many practial questions that were raised here have something to do with the cadre problem, the human factor. Some people wonder whether we need the lease system, whether we need other new forms of labor organization. But this is an interesting subject; I would advise you to study it better. After all, there are already actual data and concrete results. Naturally, we do not need a universal transition to the lease system along the lines of universal collectivization, which led to results about which you know. We need well-thought-out, sensible work as a result of which people will consciously take on new duties, put themselves in a new position, and obtain better results from their labor. In this work we need sensible advice from specialists and economists, we need a committed stance on the part of leaders, so that everyone clearly understands the principles on which lease relations are to be based. After all, the calculations may be complex, but everyone should grasp the simple formula: As I work, so will I receive. And a good specialist should help the worker to do this. If he does not, the labor collective council has the right to raise the question of his suitability for the post he holds, since he cannot or will not resolve the question of switching to the lease system. Here a very great deal depends on the position of economists and specialists.

I will convey to the party Central Committee your support for restructuring, comrades. What the workers of Donbass say is very important to us; it gives us strength and confidence in carrying out the difficult work we are doing in our country. Of course, one wants restructuring to go more rapidly, life to change more quickly. But apparently it takes 9 or even 15 years to build a pit with a capacity of 2 million tonnes of coal a year, and turning the whole country around in an hour, transforming life in every area—the economy, politics, the spiritual sphere, the sphere of culture—that, you realize, is impossible. It will take time.

If we want to achieve a democratic, self-managing society where the main value is man himself and his problems, then all the questions of restructuring must be resolved democratically, through people's consciousness and feelings. You cannot smash people up like firewood, even for the noblest goal. Yet calls like that occur; you have heard them.

Calls like that always seem frivolous and ill-considered to me. People in the localities often observe both resistance and a slow reaction on the part of certain leaders and specialists when it comes to restructuring. But let us not simply shrug all this aside, saying that people are just making a lot of noise and fuss. Let us consider why these voices find support among some people. This evidently means that far from all our cadres are as yet really involved in restructuring. Yet they include Communists who hold state posts. They should set an example, they should be the first to promote restructuring. Yet they sometimes use their position to retard restructuring and preserve the former command style in life and work, the style that was formed over the years and decades.

Yes, we condemn all leftist statements, all attempts artificially to spur on restructuring and make it advance by leaps and bounds. That is nonsense. There have been leaps like that in the past; you and I know to what they led. All this is already clear; it has undergone the test of history. We are now straightening and smoothing out the twists and distortions of the past. While rejecting all this, we must nonetheless see the real state of affairs. Restructuring is not proceeding as it should everywhere. We, the Communists, the working class, must see this. And reinforce our positions, strengthen our influence.

I have seen and heard in many conversations that you are all anxious about the fate of the Donbass. What is the fate of the Donbass? It is the future lives of hundreds of thousands of people who have devoted themselves to mining work. And it is our country's energy base! I believe that the interests of the inhabitants of your region and of the whole state are close. They coincide. If we make a serious analysis of everything and, on the basis of a scientific analysis, ensure more productive work even under new, complex conditions, then the region's fate is undoubtedly promising. The fate of the Donbass must be thought out. You are proposing once again that a decision be adopted on the Donbass. We are now seeking in general to adopt fewer of various resolutions on individual issues.

Why? The 13th 5-year plan is still only being outlined, but so many requests have already been sent in that they would suffice for the 14th 5-year plan too. So the

question is that we must have short-term and long-term goals and, on this basis, allocate priorities and plan our work. More systematic planning is needed. Pressure on the government, filching of resources, and lack of balance will lead to no good. We must be more sensible in this respect. We have begun restructuring economic relations, advancing scientific and technical progress, and implementing a structural policy so as to orient the economy more toward people and toward resolving social questions. And it is on this basis that the next 5-year plan will take shape, including in the Donbass region.

The energy base occupies the leading place here. Energy is energy. It is necessary both to increase capacities and to solve the social problems that have accumulated, particularly in old mining settlements. All problems must be solved comprehensively, and not as certain comrades propose—the capacities must be created first, they say, and then the social, cultural, and consumer facilities and the housing. In the final analysis, all this will affect the specific results. Therefore, I believe, the Central Committee and the government must examine your request and your valid concern for the fate of the Donbass.

Comrades have very correctly raised the question of making better use of science and technology in restructuring. There are questions which large-scale, academy science must be involved in resolving. In the Ukraine, incidentally, basic science is strong and must be involved more actively in work. But what is most important is applied scientific research which would help to resolve questions of retooling and technical progress in sectors so as to achieve greater labor productivity and maintain production indicators at a certain level.

On the whole, you raise the question correctly, and it must be studied. Our science is also being restructured now. For, generally speaking, only a few years ago we did not have much need of scientific studies, advice, or objective assessments from scientists. Things evolved in such a way that science was allocated the role of propagandist or the role of commentator on decisions that had already been made. And this put our science in a complex situation. Therefore, science too must now be thoroughly restructured. I believe that it is extremely necessary to involve scientists in real processes. New scientific studies are needed, and let science help to introduce new economic methods and new economic relations in one sector or another. Each sector has its own specific nature, including many specific problems in the Donbass too. We will issue corresponding instructions to examine them.

We have once again seen for ourselves in the Ukraine how many things in our country are held up by the undeveloped nature of the construction base and the construction materials industry. Today this is the critical point on which many of our plans, particularly plans concerning the reconstruction of enterprises and the social structure, may founder. Therefore I can say this: We are well aware of this. The necessary measures are now being taken to develop the construction base, to produce construction materials, and to switch to new construction methods. But every collective in the enterprises has its own internal reserves for expanding construction, and these must also be found and better utilized. It may be secondary waste from mine production, or something else. Use must also be made of what restructuring produces with regard to the general improvement of capital construction, but, I repeat, people must also more vigorously bring their own reserves into play at the local level.

The question of switching to new work methods for our construction workers will also be resolved in the very near future. The point is that they will acquire strong material incentives and greater responsibility. Construction workers will obtain credits and work them off. The present approaches, which lead to waste of materials and means and long construction times, are paid for at present, as is well-known, by clients and the state. Things must not continue like this, Comrades.

I liked the speech by A.I. Ploshchik, who touched on questions of further improving the party's activity on the basis of the principles of democratization and the development of Communists' initiative. I agree. A direct election system is needed, so that Communists install as leaders those whom they consider worthy.

Questions of expenditure of money are important too. We will begin passing on some of the funds to the republics, and the republics will being passing some on to party organizations. This possibility exists. We have decided this. There is the question of wages for party workers. I have talked of this with comrades from Kemerovo Oblast. They say that there is hardly anyone to take on for party work now. The earnings of more or less knowledgeable, authoritative people, whose voice the people heed and whom people would consult, are R600-800 a month. And a secretary of a rural party raykom makes R320-330. The average salary of a kolkhoz chairman, plus several amounts according to the year's results, is somewhere between R600 and R1,200. In the situation that has come about it turns out that a party raykom secretary, in terms of the actual level of the wages that he gets, is at the level of a department manager or a leader of a large team. So there is an obvious contradiction here. I realize that we have never been in a hurry to raise the wages of party workers, so that they did not get out of touch with people. On the contrary, at first we raised the wages of those who are in decisive sectors of the national economy. But the time has evidently now come to examine this question in the context of all the changes in the country.

On the whole, this conversation of ours shows once again that all forces, knowledge, and experience must now be devoted to advancing restructuring in every sector and in every area. This is the chief slogan of the day; more

specific deeds, more openness and democratism in discussing all issues, more control on the part of working people over the activities of all organizations. The chief emphasis is on practical deeds. I believe that all the comrades present here will leave this meeting firmly confident that we are on the right road. I wish the miners and the whole of the working Donbass great successes in restructuring.

Gorbachev Talks With Donbass Miners

LD2302184589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the afternoon Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev prepared to meet coalminers of the Glavdonetskugol Association, but people came not just from Donetsk but from many towns of the Donbass.

[Gorbachev] Well, what have you to say to Vladimir Vasiliyevich [Shcherbitskiy] and me?

[Man] It's not bad here. It is a rich region. I think we will work even harder so restructuring can be maintained to the very end.

[Gorbachev] Is anyone here not very in favor of restructuring?

[Second man] There are all sorts of people. Of course, there are a few.

[Third man] There are a few.

[Gorbachev] You have a look, have a look. Whoever stands in the way of restructuring, regardless of what armchair he occupies, must be moved aside.

[Voices] [passage indistinct] [laughter]

[Gorbachev] You know, restructuring is such a necessary thing for us, for the people, for the country, that whoever—however he explains it—tries to put a spoke or even something else in the tire and puncture it and let it go down so to speak and stop it moving, is the most dangerous kind of person. There is yet another type of person who is sort of in favor of restructuring, saying: Well, I will see how it turns out. Well, if you wait and see how it turns out, if I wait and see, everyone will wait, but who will do the restructuring and who will get this thing moving?

[Man] Only we ourselves.

[Gorbachev] You know what I like about today's tour around the Ukraine? That there is more understanding than ever in the collectives now that everyone needs to really get things moving, because nothing can be solved just by steps from above, even the boldest and most decisive. The main thing still has to be done here on the ground, in the labor collective, in the town, in the rayon.

[Man] A new parliament is starting.

[Gorbachev] I think that it is an interesting parliament you are describing. I don't think it will give anyone any peace high or low. It is what is needed.

[Man] It is what is needed.

[Gorbachev] It is just what is needed.

[Second man] Because without it, without a parliament....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] It suited many people that the people were ignorant about many things, could not see many things. What was there to tell the people? Even we did not know many things. What was the use of it? So when it all came out, when it was all upon us, as they say, we all even lost our heads a little.

[Man] Don't lose your head, Mikhail Sergeyevich. We here [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] When we realized what it was all about it became clearer what had to be done.

[Man] We will not give in. We will stand our ground despite all obstacles. Only the most important thing is, don't get sick. May you have happiness, health, everything.

[Raisa Gorbacheva] The women here have something to say.

[Gorbachev] Fine.

[Gorbacheva] Nothing but men, you can't get through. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] I'll come nearer. Where do you work.

[Woman] In Artemovsk.

[Gorbachev] Is that so? What is it like in Artemovsk?

[Woman] It's fine. Come and visit us and see for yourself.

[Gorbachev] Fine. That's the thing about our people. What? The general secretary has arrived to deal with trifles. This is how I think, you know. We have so many gaps and inconveniences in our life on which nerves and time are expended, that they are not trifles. It has go to such a state that we need resolutely to restructure everything connected with people's everyday life. It is better that much (?is raised) and this applies primarily to women.

More on Talks With Donbass Miners

LD2402125189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 22 February, in its "Vremya" program, carries a 15-minute video report on CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Donbass miners in Donetsk on 22 February, following his address to them.

The first miner to speak is Lyashksov, a workers' brigade leader from the A.G. Stakhanov mine of the Krasnoarmeyshugol Production Association, who praises the practice of leaders meeting with workers, expresses concern at the slow pace of restructuring, and criticizes the press for its negative attitude toward the Stakhanovite movement. Turning to the nationalities questions, he says: "Not long ago a discussion unfurled here in the Ukraine about the creative intelligentsia, and the question was put of creating another front—on behalf of the people, you understand. But I don't understand who had the authority to state that this was on behalf of the people or who gave them such a right."

Gorbachev replies: "This is what I think: Can anyone really turn to anyone else—let's be blunt—and say that we are indiffernet to the fate of the Ukrainain people, to its culture, its history, its language and literature, and its people's intelligentsia? Come off it!" Lyashok interrupts to say that these were "spiritual treasures".

Gorbachev continues: "We must think about these treasures. I think—you see, I can hear you—and you understand what I feel, that a miner, a brigade leader is thinking and, as they say, in his thoughts and ideas there is some kind of spiritual support, a fulcrum. But really, haven't we become better off from the fact that we can now put any question directly and discuss it in any place. This is good."

Two speakers dwell on the issues of solving the food and housing problems at the mine. Aleksandr Yakovich Kolesnikov, a brigade leader from the Molodogvardeyskaya pit in Voroshilovgrad oblast complains the mines do not receive any of the foreign currency earned by the coal which they exported.

Gorbachev replies: "Aleksandr Yakovich , I've a question for you. We've known each other for a long time. You are a person who knows a lot, who takes part in many things. Well, during today's conversations, in the square and in other places, this matter was raised—that much comes unstuck because of the cadres. The local cadres. Some people make accusations that are altogether serious. But workers at the works say, well, there is yet another matter here: Why, Mikhail Sergeyevich, they say, why is it that suddenly all the things that only yesterday were available now turn out to be in short supply—washing powders, all kinds of toothpaste, everything that used to be in abundant supply, where has it all got to? Who is it, who is to blame for what is taking place? Saboteurs, they say, saboteurs who wish to discredit perestroyka. But is this issue discussed among the workers?"

A worker then makes the point that better work should be reflected in better pay, and appropriate laws should be passed to have this enshsrined. He is followed by a team leader at the Zasyadko colliery, who touches on the issue of enhancing the presitage of miners' jobs. Having praised the party's role, he says that there are currently many discussions about a multiparty system, about setting up a so-called second, alternative party. He says that the miners see no problem or question here, as the grassroots party organizations, as the primary units of the party, are capable of influencing, managing and developing the plans that have been drawn up. He points out that much work will have to be done to make sure that people can trust the party again because it let them down in the past.

Comparison of Address to Aktiv

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 22 February broadcasts the recorded address by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the Donbass miners' aktiv on 22 February. The radio version has been compared with the Moscow Television version of the address published in the 23 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 62-67, revealing the following variations:

page 62, column two, first paragraph, from first sentence radio version reads: ...become simply essential.

I value this conversation very highly; and, in general, I always value such conversations. Therefore, when you go around enterprises and have such conversations in industry, you get a feeling of the very nature of industry, of the production conditions, and you will ask some things and you will find out some things. But in order to understand things, the whole situation at any enterprise, at a kolkhoz, a construction site, an enterprise, or it may be a matter of mining, particularly seeing as I have been in mines (?a time or two)...[Gorbachev changes thought] Well, ought one probably at some time go down the mines? [audience shouts] Yes, yes, yes, I can feel that. I have been in a mine; but you know, there is one called Stavropolugol—I once worked there. Maybe someone knows a bit about it. There they have seams where you get a scout working.

But now in your area, too, such mines have appeared. However, there are different conditions there and different working equipment. When you move along that pit face and feel that you are being pushed upward, you think: What will happen next, in a minute from now? Clearly it is necessary to get used to it. Well, then, I was down there, at a copper mine, so I saw a little down the mine. I walked about. An interesting, complex, and

responsible mine. Very much so. And the last person who spoke—Comrade Ryazantsev, was it not—was right when he said that a coal miner cannot be a nonprofesional; no miner can be. Otherwise, it is very much fraught with serious consequences.

Well, I will leave that topic to one side. I merely wished to stress that such conversations give an opportunity, especially with people who are directly from there, from the very front line of our economy, and you feel it down here, all that we are deciding on at the top level of the industry, how it breaks down directly in the collective, at the workplace, and how people react to it. And for that reason I very much value this conversation since it provides much useful information which I simply must know. If I am to say that, then I must say that in these last few years such conversations have simply become essential. Such meetings used to be worthless. Everything was fine, rounded as they say. You are aware of those moves from the flank, and those in the know will not understand.

Now we speak straight to one another, in a businesslike way, because we all need to know what is happening in the country. You have a right to ask a question and to ask any of us who answer for general affairs in the country. But in exactly the same way, we, too, have to know what is happening in any given rayon or oblast, or, in this case, in the Donbass, that most important area of our country.

But I would... (picking up next sentence, supplying additional material)

page 62, column two, paragraph three, from sentence six radio version reads: ...words and actions. In the past we have also had fine solutions and undertakings, great and important ones, and they came to nothing. Today, in order to ensure that this does not happen, we are developing economic and political reform, and maintaining openness, glasnost, democracy, and criticism at the appropriate level. All this is necessary. It is a normal situation. Some people might want very badly to evade or escape from this criticism, from this light, this floodlight. No, we need this, comrades. We must be... (picking up next sentence, supplying additional material)

same paragraph, from end of last sentence, radio version reads: ...importance—practical deeds.

There is no point in waiting, as some comrades have quite rightly said here, for someone to do it and bring it to you ready made on a little plate with blue edging. This is very true. I myself like to repeat this expression, and I am pleased that it has been voiced here today. This means that this thought is having an effect on our working class and working people. And this should mean, and should be reflected, in everything, in all ideological work, including the mass media as well. This is the first point.

In connection with... (picking up next paragraph, supplying additional material)

page 63, column one, paragraph two, from first sentence radio version reads: ...economists are needed. Once we had a meeting with workers where one worker stood up at a point, like this, when the debates were over, and said: OK, if there are any others wishing to speak, they can have 2-3 minutes each. And they started talking; perhaps another third of those present spoke in this way, and one of the comrades said: See how things work here. I am the chairman of the labor collective council; let's think through these leasing relations. On what principles should they be based? You put it very simply. In the end the calculations may be complicated, but for the man, the team, the participant in this leasing, there should be a simple formula: There's the [word indistinct] and there's what I'll earn from it. The rest goes, so to speak, into other funds, teams, assignments, and so on. But here's what you have—the comrades compare and can instantly see what there is to do and how to do it.

I turned to an economist once, he said, then a second time, and then—no—I said that we would raise the question of your incompetence as an economist at the labor collective council. For you are unable to, or do not want to, or cannot, resolve the question of the transfer to leasing. Everything was resolved 2 weeks later. We transferred to leasing. That is, at the moment, much depends on the position adopted by cadres, economists, specialists. And I am paying attention to this. I shall convey your support, comrades, to the Central Committee. What the Donbass... (picking up next sentence, supplying additional material)

page 64, column one, first paragraph, from second sentence radio version reads: ...that they coincide. If one were to analyze everything seriously and consider that even in this region one could, on the basis of scientific analysis and elaborations, start working more productively, even in the complex conditions that exist here, then there would undoubtedly be a promising future for this region. The economy in such a case would also be normal, because, first of all, we need the coal that is there somewhere, and in order to extract it we need people to go there. It must be tapped, it means thousands of millions [not further specified]. Then there's the time it will take for the people to make the region habitable; the time it will take for them to bring these mines—which take at best 9 years to build—into working order; the time it will take to then transport the coal across the entire country. All this must be thought through. Thus I think there exists this kind of understanding now, both in the industry and in the country, an understanding which has been thought through and is not simple, so to speak.

Well, take Donbass, for instance—it's a pity. Indeed, generally speaking, it is wrong to treat the fortunes of people in this way. But there is, I think, even more at stake here. Just on the basis of a consideration of all the

facts, the future of the Donbass must be thought through. It must be thought through. We are now striving once again, you say, to make yet more decisions about the Donbass. At present, we... (picking up next sentence, supplying additional material)

page 65, column one, second paragraph, from first sentence radio version reads: ...undeveloped construction base. Today we have reached such a critical point, so to speak, that many of our plans could fail, particularly where the reconstruction of enterprises and social amenities is concerned. Thus I can only say the following, comrades: We feel this... (picking up next sentence, supplying additional material)

page 66, column one, first paragraph, from end of paragraph radio version reads: ...practical deeds. [applause]

I am leaving this meeting, as are, I believe, the comrades present with me here, with the conviction that this understanding of the need to strengthen practical work has been reached by every individual at his workplace and in every labor collective. I wish the miners and the whole working Donbass great success in restructing. [applause] (supplying additional material)

Talks With Donetsk Citizens

LD2302192189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; S. Slipchenko report]

[Text] [Slipchenko] It was here [Lenin Square in Donetsk] that the first meetings with the inhabitants of Donetsk Oblast took place. [video shows Gorbachev in fur hat moving over to address a crowd of people]

[Gorbachev] I recollect, I recognize the buildings. I have been in Donetsk a number of times, and I know the city and I like it. I have liked it for a long time. Tell me, how are you getting on here? In the past, Donetsk has gotten along quite well, to put it plainly.

Well, we have come from other oblasts, and here we see the miner, the lathe-operator, and others. So we have been around, had a look, and it looks pretty good, the squares. Yes, people in Donetsk have always said they can let Kiev have anything, but back in Kiev they are short of vegetables! [laughter] You have vegetables here?

[Voices] Yes.

[Gorbachev] In both summer and winter, yes?

[Man] All year round.

[Gorbachev] All year round?

[Shcherbitskiy] Five and a half million [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] I have always looked upon Donetsk as a kind of powerful socioeconomic unit. All I say is one has to make sure that (?it doesn't become a state!) [laughter] Then they produced 22 or 23 million tons of metal.

[Man] Yes, (?23) million.

[Gorbachev] Then, it was 104 of coal?

[Man] Correct.

[Gorbachev] 104 of coal. The machine-tool industry is a colossal one.

[Shcherbitskiy] And the chemical industry, and heavy industries.

[Gorbachev] The chemical industry is big. Then it has its own sea, its own fleet. In other words, life has not deteriorated; it has improved.

How is restructuring going? Do you think you have things to restructure here, or is everything in order?

[Man] Together with the whole people, of course, we are battling against shortcomings.

[Second man] There's no way back. Only forward.

[Gorbachev] But what, specifically?

[Man] There are a lot of good initiatives, but they all get undone in the ministries and departments. From below they work well.

[Gorbachev] They work well?

[Man] I work at the electromechanical works, at the Lenin D.M.Z., the metallurgical works, as a steel-founder. Last year the ministry imposed pellets [words indistinct] We extracted what (?they ordered).

[Gorbachev] So things are starting to break through?

[Man] Starting to break through, but it's going slowly.

[Gorbachev] Did this method work in the enterprise?

[Man] Not with us, no. The ministry acts (?strictly to the order).

[Gorbachev] So there is another order this year?

[Man] And another order this year.

[Gorbachev] A tough one?

[Man] A 100-percent order.

[Gorbachev] Why did you accept it?

[Man] We have to! [laughter]

[Gorbachev] So the enterprise-ministry issue remains, does it?

[Man] (?It is ludicrous).

[Gorbachev] Information reaches us—and it is being leaked to the press—that some enterprises feel that they are monopolists in some very important product and they are extorting, literally extorting, from other people. They impose their prices on others, but the main thing is that they are saying, put some more metal our way and then we will supply you, or give us some other product. Well, I think that this happens all the time—at such a time of restructuring, of transition, things will fall into place.

[Man] Then there's the law on labor, about the enterprise and the collective. Everywhere there are good laws, but everywhere there are reservations. Look at the administration. The last word is with the administration. It is as though they don't trust the collective.

[Gorbachev] I get the impression that the workers' collective soviet is now able to solve everything it wants to. It can put whoever it likes in his place, even a director. Who is the head of the labor collective soviet at your works?

[Man] At the works?

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Man] A worker, (?Litvinov).

[Gorbachev] At one time, you know, it was directors. We even had a debate at the Politburo about this, and we found that it was wrong.

[Voices] [Passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] I can tell you this; I know the working class of the Donbass, and even in those times we call the era of stagnation, it was always up to it. When they needed to, they would speak bluntly. This is even more the case now. What I say is this: Do not wait; take things upon yourselves and act. The whole point is you should act yourselves. So, can one really have someone coming from somewhere to introduce order at tens of thousands of enterprises? No, this cannot be. We shall come through, but I think we will learn from it.

[Man] That's right.

[Gorbachev] Well, all the best. [Video shows Gorbachev moving to another section of the crowd]

[Gorbachev] Who do you represent?

[Male voices] Miners, miners from all pits of Donbass.

[Gorbachev] Well [passage indistinct] [laughter] It is obvious from your voice and from your shoulders.

[Man] Thank you for coming here. I am from the Kalinin pit. There are men from the Socialist Donbass, Zasyadko, and Kuybyshev mines.

[Gorbachev] Good, I am glad to see you. I even said, I requested, you know we will be visiting the works in Donetsk, and it would be a good idea to invite several dozen miners to have a talk.

[Man] Right.

[Gorbachev] We will sit down and have a chat.

[Man] There are problems in the Donbass.

[Gorbachev] I don't know which of you will be coming, but you have already had your little say! [laughter]

[Voices] Yes, indeed.

[Gorbachev] Tell me, what is worrying the Donbass miners?

[Man] Recently there has been less attention paid to the development of the Donbass, but after all everything here will depend on coal, the whole of restructuring—there will be meat if we develop the coal industry. Everything depends on coal here, metallurgy, coking chemicals, agriculture, kindergartens and the whole social sphere.

[Gorbachev] Not only here, the country relies on it.

[Man] Quite right, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] The Donbass is....

[Man interrupting] The Donbass is a coal area, coal.

[Gorbachev] Which is one of the country's strong points, you understand comrades.

[Man] Here, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we should no doubt criticize our minister of the coal industry. I was a delegate of the 19th conference and I was received by him. Mikhail Ivanovich [Shchadov] said: Comrades, the Donbass will remain the country's first stokehold. For some reason this has been forgotten. We think that things should not be delayed any further; the Donbass must be developed here and now.

[Gorbachev] In general the present minister creates the impression of being a businesslike person. He has had his character toughened by being a miner. But, if you are saying....

[Man, interrupting] Not all are backed up by deeds. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] The comrades here are taking down our conversation and let him listen to it today.

[Man] Right. I know that Mikhail Ivanovich is here in Donetsk.

[Gorbachev] He is even here?

[Man] Yes, here. He will be at the meeting today.

[Gorbachev] Then, even more so.

[Man] Even more so.

[Gorbachev] We will convey this conversation to him.

[Woman] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the builders—we had a meeting with you, and we spoke about construction—the construction industry is very weak.

[Gorbachev] Weak.

[Woman] Very weak. Somehow we builders have (?received) [words indistinct] Truly, our profession has gone downhill.

[Gorbachev] Vitaliy Andreyevich, what are you promising here? [video shows Gorbachev turning to (?Masol).]

[(?Masol)] We are building two house-building combines which will allow us virtually to double the housing construction, one in Donetsk and one is being built by the miners, because for them it really is an acute problem. [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] About leave, the workers are raising this question, and they raised it at the meeting at the party Central Committee.

[Woman] [words indistinct] [laughter] But I think that for builders....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I think that someone at this meeting rightly said that unless there is efficient construction, unless we nevertheless put things in order there, then it will affect everyone. But you also know that the builders too should switch to being paid for the finished product, and on big projects also some sort of the intermediate amounts. What happens now? Builders are very fond of having more assembly work, more land, foundations, but there is no finished product. For this reason perhaps it also happens for the following reason. How would it be, for example if a builder took cash as credit from construction organizations and everything proceeded on that basis? Then he would start thinking. One must think about results; money must be earned. For that reason a draft plan is now being completed for the restructuring of capital construction. It is being changed over to economic management.

[Man] The miners are saying: We are in favor of restructuring, we support Mikhail Sergeyevich, but he probably finds it difficult, they are always saying. I am a [word indistinct] pit-face miner [video shows Gorbachev smiling]

[Gorbachev] You know that the working class is everything, the main thing on which we are relying. While there is (?mutual) understanding between the working class and the peasantry things will go alright. All sorts of excesses arise there [words indistinct]. So we cherish that understanding. Let us from there think how to develop restructuring in the interests of the country and people, and you apply pressure from here. Apply pressure on us and on everyone, everyone, and locally!

[Man] To a depth of 1,000 meters! [laughter]

[Gorbachev] [words indistinct]

[Man] It is time not to put pressure on each other but to proceed in parallel.

[Gorbachev] To meet each other halfway.

[Man] Yes, there is a green light for the talent of the people, that talent of which there is an abundance among the Soviet people.

[Gorbachev] I think that we are opening up in order to get the collectives moving to do what they are capable of. That is the main thing.

[Slipchenko] Thousands of people had gathered in this square alone. Mikhail Sergeyevich went up to many groups of workers, miners, chemists today.

[Gorbachev] What do the women say? How is life in Donetsk? What collectives are you in? I would like to know what business is like. What do you sell? Tell me what fresh goods you have every day. Yes, in the shops.

[Woman] Foodstuffs.

[Gorbachov] You are talking about foodstuffs? What foodstuffs are you selling today?

[Woman] Milk products.

[Gorbachev] Regularly?

[Women's voices] Yes, regularly, all the time.

[Gorbachev] Is there a suitable variety?

[Women] Absolutely.

[Gorbachev] The quality of the products, is it good? Tell me, are you checked by the workers' control?

[Women] Yes, they check us.

[Gorbachev] See you don't let the miners down!

[Video shows Gorbachev with Raisa, Shevchenko, and Masol addressing crowds]

More on Talks With Citizens

LD2402115689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] [words indistinct] hours the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee spoke to representatives of the Donbass miners' collectives. Meanwhile, during this time, people waited in the square at the front of the building.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] We had a chat with the miners, you know. I'll tell you straight: I'm taking away a great impression from our meeting. We had a very earnest talk about the Donbass. A very earnest talk. We agreed that we should be shown a bit more of it. But I think I already knew a lot of what I've heard from the miners—back in Moscow, and here, as well, in talks with Comrade Shcherbitskiy and Comrade Masol, and other comrades of the [word indistinct] republic. But probably when you listen—when you listen—when you listen to the miners themselves [Gorbachev talking over a woman's indistinct call] you get a slightly different picture, so to speak, a clearer one. Moreover, we had this sort of conversation: Where is restructuring getting bogged down, and what has to be done? What is the future of the Donbass, and what has to be done to ensure that the future is certain for the detachment of the working class that is made up of the working people of the Donbass? The question cetered on what our science and technology ought to do to elevate the labor of the miners, to ennoble it. There was a lot of discussion on how to ennoble life, social issues. Today they emerged at the forefront. The miners involved themselves in all issues. They said there must be more order, and more demanded of the cadres—both here, locally, and back in Moscow. Everything that has been said is correct; nothing for it, everything's right! And the main thing is that now—this is the mood of the workers—things have to be done, done and doing better. A lot has been sorted out, and if anything hasn't been completely sorted out, it will be. Things have to be done.

[Unidentified woman] They're afraid of coming up against difficulties here.

[Gorbachev] Whoever is in the way has to be swept aside, swept aside comrades.

[Unidentified man] But they're afraid....

[Unidentified woman interrupts] Thank you very much Mikhail Sergeyevich for coming to see us. We congratulate you on 23 February, on your birthday, when it comes.

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[passage indistinct: people in crowd calling out]

[Gorbachev, in answer to unheard question] Quite right, quite right. Thank you.

[Unidentified woman] Come back in the summer. [end recording] [video shows Gorbachev talking to people in crowd]

Visits Machine-Building Works

LD2302185789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: report on visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the Ukrainian Leninist Komsomol machine-building works in Donetsk Oblast on 22 February—all speakers other than Gorbachev unidentified]

[Text] After thorough and detailed conversations with the inhabitants of Donetsk Oblast, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev went to the Leninskiy Komsomol Ukrainy machine-building works.

This enterprise produces equipment for the mining industry throughout the country. [video shows exterior of the works]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Hello, comrades. [Cries of greeting from the crowd] It is your lunch break, is it not? [Cries of yes] Have you already had your lunch break? How do you feel?

[Woman] Well.

[Gorbachev] I bring you greetings from Moscow.

[Woman] All the women and mothers want to say thank you to you. Thank you very much.

[Gorbachev] What problems do you have?

[Man] There is not enough material in the factory (?to meet) our contractual obligations.

[Gorbachev] But you already are operating on financial autonomy and so are your suppliers. There are contracts, so things are going badly with contracts? Is that it? Contractual discipline is poor? What else?

[Man] All of us are all right. That is how we will go on.

[Gorbachev] That is the main thing, anyway, that the situation with supplies should not become overheated. I hear this a lot. In the center of Donetsk there, we were talking about supplies, too, as well as in other places. The point seems to be that we somehow must make firmer

our mutual responsibility before each other. You see, there are collectives here and there. Now that everyone is on financial autonomy, it is very important for supplies to be reliable and stable, mutual deliveries. Probably you also cause disruption to someone else. Is that so?

[Man] Last year the works supplied 100 percent (?of its obligations). For many years our supplies have been up at the level of 99 or 98. Last year our supplies were 100 percent.

[Gorbachev] In general, during the restructuring, the reform of the economy, one must attain relations in which there is no one above connecting one collective with another, but it should take place on the basis of economic links and responsibility, of course. What is your assessment of trading in Donetsk? [murmurs from the crowd of all right, poor] So it is all right, average, and poor! [laughter and more cries of poor]

[Man] With food products it is all right.

[Gorbachev] And goods?

[Man] With goods, it is poor.

[Gorbachev] What goods?

[Man] Clothing.

[Gorbachev] Clothing.

[Man] Televisions.

[Gorbachev] Televisions.

[Man] Refrigerators.

[Gorbachev] Refrigerators.

[Woman] Sewing machines.

[Gorbachev] So it is those industrial goods that are necessary, especially for long term use, and clothing?

[Woman] Perhaps they should give out more coupons at the enterprise. People do not have the opportunity to run around the shops, especially women.

[Gorbachev] You know, in general we encourage this course, that general [word indistinct] culinary goods, that the services sphere should come closer to the enterprises. Probably you do this at the works, but on the other hand, pensioners, teachers, doctors—everyone in the services sphere—they will say: You are giving to the workers and we come to the shops and there is nothing. You know what we need? We need more goods. That is the main thing. So the question of goods must concern all enterprises, whatever they are engaged in. Well, good. I wish you all the best. [video shows Gorbachev with Shcherbitskiy and Masol talking to workers] [end recording]

Visits Donetsk Rotor Works

LD2402114389

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian in the "Vremya" newscast at 1800 GMT on 22 February 1989 carries a 12-minute report on CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to the Donetsk Leninskiy Komsomol Rotor Complex Works. Much of the recorded reportage from within the works is inaudible because of background noise from machines.

Gorbachev and his entourage are seen talking with workers. He asks about how the work is going and the workers, mainly women, tell him of the changes in progress. One of the women says: "The housing question is worrying us very much." Gorbachev listens to the women's complaints about the waiting lists for apartments, and says:

"I even intend to talk about this in Kiev, to say that we are burying a very great amount of money in the ground, and it all just lies there for years. It is a general disease. And so far, under restructuring it is the thing that we have treated with least success, this disease in capital construction. Assets are lying there which should have provided output of all sorts, including goods. Housing is also lying there, so to speak, and to some extent kindergartens, and so on and so forth. What is more, these things have been earned. These building delays...."

Here a woman interrupts, saying:

"And another thing: Here you are visiting us; the head of state finds the time to visit everyone, rayons and cities. Why does our leadership not do so—from the obkoms and gorkoms—why do they not meet, why do they not visit our works? Why have they not come to see how hard it is for our works management and help our works management? Then it's easier for them and also for us."

Another woman takes up the theme. Gorbachev says:

"Good. It is good that, you know, that all these arguments are very serious, not simply for the sake of it, but about things that matter. There must always be such talk of things that matter. When a person talks about things that matter, somehow or other, nevertheless, someone will have to listen and decide."

The Gorbachev party moves off, to applause, to another section of the works. He exchanges pleasantries with more workers. Gorbachev invites the workers to tell him about their work, good and bad. There follows a general

conversation about the quality of the output produced at the works, which appears to be good on the whole, although there is room for improvement. A woman then asks Gorbachev:

"Please tell us: Will the school program be changed or not? Will there be any changes in the way pupils are taught in the schools now?"

Gorbachev replies:

"I think there will be; and the social disciplines will also be changing. And there will also be a change in the volume of knowledge which is now being worked out in connection with reform and reinterpretation. I think that we must tackle the schools thoroughly, because if we do not arrange things properly in the schools, it will affect the new generation which is growing, learning, and training. Much is needed there—both upbringing and teaching have been remade to a large extent. But I'll say here and now: Without the help of everyone—the enterprises and all—we will also fail to get by. They must be helped to create the material base. And, of course, the teachers must be supported. There too there is a very big cadre problem. Restructuring there, too—one of the difficult things is our educational system, because it is a far from simple area. It is even easier to restructure a works."

A woman then asks: "What about the cooperatives? The cooperatives have been set up, and they return a smaller percentage...." Gorbachev interrupts, smiling, and says:

"All the time I've been in the Ukraine we talk about, everyone is talking about, the cooperatives, and especially the workers."

The woman then talks about profits for works and for cooperatives.

Gorbachev then says: "When it comes to making (?contributions from prices) for the all-union budget, we must only deal with the extremely essential things. We must fix our spending on defense and on maintaining the apparat. All this must be brought to the very optimal level so that there is no superfluous spending and expenses. And we have already started on this. You have probably felt it. But you must know that in the union budget—Vladimir Vasiliyevich [turns to Shcherbitskiy], how much did they tell us? Was it 83 percent, yes? [Shcherbitskiy nods affirmatively] This goes on social things from the budget. In the union budget there is 83 percent. What is it? It is free schools and free medicine. That's where it goes. It goes on pensions—they take a lot. So the union budget virtually, with a small exception, all goes on social needs. It returns to people through pensions, medicine, and so on. So, of course, all the enterprises will be contributing to the budget because it is still necessary." A woman at this point says: "True." Gorbachev continues:

"Today at the works you receive wages and tomorrow you will be receiving your pension. It has to be returned to you. And the person who will be working tomorrow must also contribute something. And it's like that everywhere. Children must have guaranteed schooling. The state must guarantee the provisions for children, so to speak. And likewise medicine, etcetera, to say nothing about everything else.

"You talk of the cooperatives and labor collectives. That's a proper question. When we started the cooperative business, in order to provide an incentive, as ever, we even freed them from having their incomes depend on profits for a certain period, to make a start. But in principle, when we adopted the law on cooperatives, we did establish that profits determine incomes. Now we have seen that some of the cooperatives have, through this, changed the attitude of a number of people, making them mercenary and we now, through taxation policy, will tax all the incomes which the cooperatives receive in accordance with the level of these incomes in order to ensure their development and a certain wage level, but the rest, through tax policy, will be gathered for the disposal of society.

"Moreover, we have made the decision: Insofar as there are so many cooperatives, meaning that they are varied—in industry and services, repairs; where are they not? —they cannot be regulated from Moscow, nor seen. And so we have taken the decision and formulated the principle to hand it all to the republics and the oblasts. Everything is visible there. And let the local organs tax them. It is true when you say that there are cases where productivity is lower in the cooperatives, where quality is worse." Here a chorus of assenting voices is heard.

Gorbachev continues: "That's not proper, not proper. So we have gone through the first stage. We have seen how it is. We, you know, when we dissolved these cooperatives and scrapped the cooperative movement, we lost the whole experience of how to conduct things. Now we are building it up because we got our fingers burned—the whole of society. So this must all be strictly controlled through the economic levers of taxation policy. But look, it's become easier to have things repaired, apartments. It's become easier to have household appliances repaired because the state enterprises cannot take it all on and it remained outside their field of activity. And it is the individual who suffered from it.

"So it was necessary here for all these things which the state enterprises do not take on to be taken up by the cooperatives and solved in the interests of people. But it must be strictly regulated by these mechanisms. So we will support the cooperative movement, but we will standardize them with the tax policy and all the deductions which they will have to give, and we will bring them closer to the enterprises, especially those cooperatives which enjoy the same conditions and supply as the enterprises. They should be identical. And there are

many cooperatives which enjoy things like the enterprises and even sell their goods at a lower price than the enterprise. There are such ones. So we've got everything."

The "Vremya" reportage continues with reports on Gorbachev's further activities in Donetsk.

Gorbachev Travels to Chernobyl

PM2302195989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by special correspondents V. Kozhemyako, M. Odinets, and I. Tikhomirov: "Strength of Spirit, Strength of Friendship. M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to Chernobyl AES and Slavutich City"]

[Excerpts] On 23 February, the 4th day of his visit to the Ukraine, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited the Chernobyl AES. He also visited the power industry workers' city of Slavutich.

Almost 4 years have passed since the tragic night of that unprecedentedly grave accident whose echoes reverberated around the world. But even today work to eliminate its consequences is continuing, and the situation at the power station attracts close attention. During his meetings on the streets of Kiev, among the multitude of questions on the most diverse topics, Mikhail Sergeyevich was invariably asked questions about nuclear power stations. Describing in detail the measures being taken by the Politburo and Council of Ministers, he stressed that these problems are tackled in the most considered way. When asked why a nuclear power station is being built in quake-prone Crimea, Mikhail Sergeyevich explained that after demands to halt its construction were made, American scientists who have participated in designing Japanese nuclear power stations were invited to make an expert assessment. Why them? As is known, Japanese territory has also been hit by earthquakes of force 8-9, but nevertheless the country obtains essential electricity from nuclear power stations. This means that their safety can be ensured. Thus, when the experts (our scientists are also participating, naturally) submit their findings, we will decide the fate of the Crimea project, M.S. Gorbachev noted in conversations with citizens of Kiev. In the event of a negative conclusion it will be used as a training facility for nuclear power station personnel. But, as the general secretary said, he just had to go to Chernobyl at this time to find out what has been done and see what still needs to be done. [passage omitted]

On the way the cars stopped in the village of Dymer. A large group of people had gathered by the post office. These were workers from the "Dymerskiy" sovkhoz and local enterprises. Mikhail Sergeyevich was presented with flowers. He inquired about how the sovkhoz operates and how things are going. Only a few years ago this was a loss-making sovkhoz, but now it is on the way up. Last year it had already obtained a net profit of R1 million.

N. Tretyak, leader of the "Avangard" cooperative, joined in the conversation. This cooperative is engaged in laying on gas supplies to rural housing. Mikhail Sergeyevich asked what charges are made for the work. Only state charges, came the answer. "We wholeheartedly support the policy of restructuring and approve of the active work you are doing for the benefit of the people, Comrade General Secretary," M.S. Gorbachev was told.

But what problems do the cooperative members have? Primarily material supplies; there is a shortage of pipes. Mikhail Sergeyevich said that in March there will be a CPSU Central Committee plenum which will examine questions of agrarian policy. The plenum will also discuss rural social development problems. [passage omitted]

The journey to Chernobyl continued. The completely new villages encountered all along the way graphically illustrate the scale of the work done to eliminate the consequences of the accident. [passage omitted]

The visitors viewed places which even recently had appeared dead. They have been brought back to life by the heroic efforts of Soviet Army units, construction workers, and scientists. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev and those traveling with him visited the control room of the No 2 power unit.

"The unit is operating normally," the shift supervisor reported.

An interested conversation ensued. The Chernobyl accident was a kind of watershed between the defective phenomena which accumulated during the stagnation years and the process of getting rid of them, a process which requires particular stringency and enhanced exactingness. It must not be forgotten that the disaster was caused by criminal irresponsibility, which must not and cannot be repeated. People remember this and are increasing their exactingness toward each other.

The conversation turned to the great responsibility borne by Communists, and the need for the party organization to constantly translate the concept of "revolutionary restructuring" into specific practical actions. There must be no waiting for special instructions, AES party committee secretary V. Udovichenko agreed. The wait-and-see syndrome kills anything living. New tasks require new approaches. This is why power industry workers are wholeheartedly in favor of restructuring. Mikhail Sergeyevich wished them success in all their spheres.

From the power station M.S. Gorbachev headed for the city of Slavutich. [passage omitted]

The visitors were welcomed with flowers. And a warm and cordial conversation immediately sprang up. Ye. Shcherbina, a team leader from Chernigov, described how a multinational detachment of construction workers lives and works in harmony here. They came here 2 years ago and started work waist-deep in snow. It was here, right on the site of the gorispolkom building, that the first stake was driven into the ground. And from the very beginning everybody helped each other, though they had come from different parts of the country.

You have a real school of internationalism here, Mikhail Sergeyevich noted. And furthermore, this is a fine example of words and actions not diverging. We can do it! When it was necessary the entire country leaped into action and did it. You've built such a marvelous city that to be honest it would be nice to live here. "Come and live here then," the hospitable hosts invited. "We have a good and harmonious life here!"

It is in friendship that our main strength lies, M.S. Gorbachev continued. And this is why we were all so concerned by what happened in Armenia and Azerbaijan. History has decreed that there should be a mixture of dozens and even hundreds of peoples in our country. And each of them, even the smallest, has the right to feel good. This is the main thing—how each people feels. And many of them have common roots. We talk about Kiev Rus. On the one hand Kiev, on the other, Rus. We need to eradicate any manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism. Our happiness lies in the fact that we are brothers; our federation was created on the initiative of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. And the potential of our friendship is colossal. People everywhere, throughout the country, should live like the people in this city.

The conversation was continued in the gorispolkom hall, where nuclear scientists, power industry workers, and party and soviet workers had gathered. USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman B. Shcherbina, Academician V. Velikhov, State Committee for Hydrometeorology Chairman Yu. Izrael, and others took part in a discussion of problems linked with the construction and operation of nuclear power stations. Everything that you are doing is a very great and responsible thing, M.S. Gorbachev noted. The people expect serious, responsible, considered decisions from you.

Then there were more meetings in the streets. [passage omitted]

...Despite the natural sense of sadness and sorrow linked with the irreplaceable losses on Chernobyl soil, you are left with a bright, good, optimistic feeling after getting to know this young city and its people and meeting with the power station collective. Despite everything the strength of the human spirit and the strength of Soviet people's friendship proved invincible. This is precisely what Mikhail Sergeyevich talked about with the Chernobyl workers. We won through because we all stood together, side by side and shoulder to shoulder. Life is triumphing here on land which seemed doomed. Life will also triumph in the Armenian and Tajik cities destroyed by natural disasters.

In a word, we are capable of a great deal. Withstanding severe trials, we are proving to ourselves and to the world the boundless potential of our system, which is today reaching qualitatively new horizons. And at this time, when restructuring has been placed on the agenda and a radical renewal of society has begun, we believe firmly in success because our objectives are truly noble and human. To achieve these objectives Soviet people are ready to work with redoubled, retripled energy in the realization that the improvement of our life depends on ourselves. It is worth working for. That was the main theme of all the conversations which took place with the general secretary of our party central committee in Chernobyl and Slavutich today.

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers; and G.I. Revenko, first secretary of Kiev party obkom.

In the evening a meeting between working people and M.S. Gorbachev took place at the "Ukraina" Palace of Culture.

Visits Power Workers' Town

LD2302212889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Report on comments by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to workers at Chernobyl AES and inhabitants of Slavutich in Slavutich on 23 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] Today is the 4th day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the Ukraine. Our special correspondents Lyudmila Semina and Aleksandr Ruvinskiy report:

[Ruvinskiy] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, together with the republican leaders, visited Chernobyl AES and had a conversation with specialists at the control desk of one of the operational power units.

[Semina] After visiting Chernobyl AES, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev set off for the new power workers' town, a town which is not on any map yet—Slavutich.

[Ruvinskiy] Shops and cafes are opening in the town, one after another. There is a cinema and a kindergarten in operation. By the way, every third inhabitant of

Slavutich is a child. There are now over 11,000 inhabitants in this town. One hundred percent provision of telephones is planned. By the way, we are communicating with Moscow via a new communications exchange which has just gone into operation. And here are some reports: Over 4,000 apartments have been built in Slavutich in which power workers serving Chernobyl AES will live. This year it is planned to build a further 100,000 square meters of housing. [passage omitted]

[Semina] In the town of Slavutich there was a detailed discussion with power workers at Chernobyl AES and inhabitants of the town—a conversation about worries, problems, and hopes.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Let us operate in the following way: at the level of the Central Committee and the Government, at the level of all-union departments connected with various areas, starting from the Academy. We shall start with that, and include all the departments—the departments of atomic power engineering, environmental monitoring. Everything that is at work here, including the construction organizations, should operate in such a way that the plan for actions, for specific measures, deadlines, for volumes, for schedule of actions, everything should be resolved. No one should have the right at a certain level to call into question the given adopted decisions, or to revise them, or make corrections to them. Only if it is the case that this is the government and the Central Committee, and only in this case. No one is permitted. Therefore, everyone must implement, and those whose position it is must monitor. Here I hope for joint work by the Politburo commission, which must be the main one and, of course, by the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and the oblast organization which are stationed here. Therefore, we shall act on the basis of the decisions which we have made.

Further, we are interested, Yevgeniy Pavlovich, in ensuring that our science and technology should without fail successfully fulfill those tasks stated in the documents. I know that lagging has occurred in some areas, and therefore it is necessary that the academy should provide the necessary support for these problems, and in those areas where it is necessary you should make proposals at government level where support is needed.

Third, of course, comrades, the main problem remains. Chernobyl happened. And its consequences are difficult. We are now talking, so to speak, about the circle of these measures. But there has always been, right from the first day, and there still exists, the problem of the human being and his health. In the first place we must implement completely everything that we planned, and which is related to concern for those people who were nearby and who received irradiation, who became ill; there should be no slackening of the attention shown to these people. Some people might think something like: The acute stages have passed, and we can now forget them. No. It is essential that these people should receive attention and support. The necessary decisions have been made on this. It is only necessary for everyone to follow this approach.

Further, it is really necessary to help the station find good solutions to the cadre problem, because this is an important question. I think that it is very necessary to push the question of creating a base to train cadres. I am particularly referring to training simulators. Evidently, two are not enough here, Boris Yevdokimovich, so this problem must be solved.

I would like to add that one of the main lessons about the right approaches to the development of nuclear power engineering will be this: Decisions will be made about existing, and if necessary the further development of, nuclear power engineering, under the strict guidance of scientific data, which should contain replies to all questions—technical, reliability, security, ecology, social (?issues), and so on and so on. That means that all points concerning the location, construction, and, naturally, first of all, the designs, should all be seriously worked out. And that is how we shall operate, and even more so.

I consider and considered it my duty to come here and I am pleased that such useful and necessary conversations have taken place here. [end recording]

Lessons Learned From Accident

LD2302182389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1634 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Chernobyl, 23 Feb (TASS)—This point on the map is known now to the whole of mankind. The accident at the nuclear power plant caused pain not merely to the Soviet people—it rocked the planet, demonstrating again that the world must be united and as one in face of global catastrophes, for the sake of continuing life.

Serious but essential lessons and conclusions have been drawn from what happened. They have been adopted, and the designers and builders of power engineering technology are guided by them, as are builders, doctors, ecologists, and the millions of people of all continents who have taken the problems of the defense and protection of the environment close to their hearts. The attention which the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Ukrainian Government are devoting to eliminating the consequences of the accident remains undiminished. Those people who were caught up in it are surrounded by national care.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited the Chernobyl AES today, continuing his tour of the Ukraine. He showed a detailed interest in the state of affairs at the power sets in operation, in the

progress of the decontamination work, in the steps to increase the reliability of nuclear powerplant technology, and in the quality of construction work.

M.P. Umanets, director of the plant, reported that three of the plant's million [presumably kilowatt] sets are working steadily. In the period since the accident, the plant's contribution to the country's power balance has topped 39 billion kilowatt hours. It is continuing to swell the economy's electricity potential.

This stability is primarily the result of well-coordinated work and of the utmost discipline on the part of the AES's 5,000-strong work force. The tone is set in the multi-ethnic work force, which has been three-fourths renewed, by the plant's party organization. Each of the almost 900 Communists at Chernobyl is an example to many.

Particular attention is being devoted to raising the professional level of the work force. This is helped by the psychological and morale climate that has been created at the facility, and by the way the people are eager to work normally. This has brought results: Since last fall the plant has switched from a duty-tour maintenance schedule to a standard one, and since the start of the current year the large power facility has been operating under conditions of financial autonomy.

A large amount of emergency and reconstruction work has been completed, while major steps to ensure safety and to monitor the state of the ruined reactor have been taken, and the decontamination of the town of Chernobyl and Pripyat, nearby population centers, is being carried out. The reconstruction of the first and second power sets is scheduled for the next few years, and it is planned to complete the formation and equipping of Slavutich, the power workers' town.

B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the conversation.

Then M.S. Gorbachev visited the machine hall and the control room of the second set. He had talks with experts.

Slavutich, which is situated 150 km north of Kiev, is one of the youngest towns of the country, and its biography amounts to just 2 years. Owing its birth to the Chernobyl accident, Slavutich has at the same time become a symbol of the fraternity of the Soviet peoples and of their readiness to help immediately, selflessly and generously those needing support.

Residential quarters, which are all different, are growing up in the woodland between the Dnieper and the Desna rivers—they are being erected by the builders of the union republics. The new settlers have already recieved more than 4,000 well-appointed apartments. By the end of the year 100,000 more square metres of housing are to be handed over, and social and cultural amenities are developing. There are now more than 10,000 people in Slavutich. Its population is expected to double by the end of the year. Therefore one target is to extend more quickly the network of enterprises of the service sphere and of cultural establishments.

The familiarization with Slavutich began in a residential microrayon which was erected by Belgorod construction workers. T.V. Kurtanidze, team leader of the assembly workers of DSK-5 [house-building combine No 5] of Tbilisi City construction, and S.N. Tarabrova, teacher at secondary school No 1, carried bouquets of red carnations for M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva. Noting the beauty of the group of buildings, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the new city is being built by the whole country and by representatives of the union republics. The strength of our social system lies in this internationalism.

The problems of ecology, environmental protection, and the pace and quality of construction were noted during the conversation with the working people. M.S. Gorbachev noted that, given conditions of economic reform and of renewal of all aspects of society, fundamental restructuring is also necessary in the construction sphere. It is essential to introduce more actively progressive forms of management in this sphere, too, to develop the basis of the construction industry, and to create a mighty construction industry.

A meeting took place at Slavutich Gorispolkom between M.S. Gorbachev and the leaders of the Chernobyul AES and of the construction organizations which are participating in the city's construction.

Accompanying M.S. Gorbachev were V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; G.I. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev Obkom, and V.G. Lukyanenko, first secretary of the Slavutich Gorkom.

In the afternoon M.S. Gorbachev returned to the capital of the republic.

Gorbachev Addresses Kiev Workers

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[Report on M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with workers in Kiev on 23 February; "M.S. Gorbachev's Speech at a Meeting With Working People in the City of Kiev"—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 2042 GMT on 23 February in a similar report offers the following introduction to Gorbachev's speech: A meeting took place in the capital of the Ukraine this evening

between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and working people of Kiev and the oblast. Workers and kolkhoz farmers, party and local soviet activists of the town and oblast, representatives of the public and of the scientific- technical and creative intelligentsia, party and labor veterans, young people, and servicemen of the Soviet Army all gathered in the Ukraine Palace of Culture. In the presidium were Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee; Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Masol, chairman of the republican council of ministers.

The meeting was opened by Masik, first secretary of the Kiev party gorkom. Then the floor was given to Comrade Gorbachev.]

Dear comrades! I cordially greet you, representatives of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia; party, state, and economic workers. In your persons, I greet the entire people of the Soviet Ukraine.

My stay here in the Ukraine is nearing its end, and I am most satisfied with the numerous meetings and conversations that have taken place over the past days, both in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, in Donetsk, and in Lvov and Kiev oblasts. The most important thing I will take away with me from this stay on Ukrainian soil is a feeling of concerned and exigent commitment to insuring that restructuring not only should continue, but gather strength, and that all upon whom this depends should act decisively so that we all may feel more rapidly the results of the reforms and transformations being carried out.

During my meeting with miners in Donetsk, a worker said: Enough! We have talked a lot; now it is time to get down to things. It was said bluntly and specifically, and my response to this is as follows: More concrete deeds; that is the motto of the day!

Stepping up practical work, that is what is necessary, first and foremost, for the success of restructuring now. Here in the Ukraine we keenly sensed that the working class and the whole people are in favor of restructuring. There is no way back. What is needed are concrete results from restructuring. Such is the opinion of the working people of the Ukraine.

I will say that over the last few days, I also have had occasion to listen to critical remarks about both the central and republican bodies. I have been greatly impressed by the fact that I have heard much self-criticism during these days. You know, criticizing the authorities is an age-old tradition in our country, but I have become aware here these days that many people are dissatisfied with what they themselves have done. That thought was developed with particular forcefulness in Comrade Kolesnikov's speech at the meeting with miners. I have great faith in Comrade Kolesnikov, since he is a man of his word, a man of high working-class principles.

Specific proposals have been put forward about improving work, about accomplishing economic, social, and ideological tasks, and about developing and deepening the processes of democratization. In general—I will speak forthrightly—that made me very happy. After all, only through joint efforts can one set the country on the broad road of further development and renew our society. Unfortunately, certainly not everyone as yet has really become involved in the processes of restructuring. Some simply reckon—although mistakenly, I think—that restructuring eventually will quiet down and everything will return to normal. Such sentiments exist, and we must bear this in mind in our work.

My meeting with you, comrades, is taking place at the height of the electoral campaign, in which Soviet people are determining who will be entrusted over the next 5 years with tackling all the major domestic and foreign-policy issues. It is perfectly natural that, at such a time, everyone in one way or another is pondering the destiny of the country, its past and future, and of course, present problems. Soon it will be 4 years since the party called on the people to embark on the revolutionary renewal of the country. That time has been marked by an unprecedented intensity in public and political life. Soviet society, as it now looks and is aware of itself, already is very different from the way it was at the beginning of 1985. The stagnant atmosphere has been replaced by glasnost, lively discussion, the determination to investigate fully and without compromise everything that brought us to a state of near-crisis, and to release the powerful energy latent in our people.

Currently we are living through what is perhaps one of the most crucial moments in restructuring, when it is being switched from the realm of schemes, plans and programms to the sphere of practice, when it is encroaching on the real processes of social development and is being embodied in new forms of socioeconomic and political organization.

Restructuring is penetrating all spheres; it is increasingly affecting the interests of different strata. Let us face it, it is affecting every family and individual. It now is undergoing the most serious test, that of real life. At such turning points, considered, well thought-out, and coordinated action is particularly important. In the rapid switch from stagnation to movement and to seething passions, it is extremely important not to lose our bearings, to act purposively and consistently, not to permit any accidental factors to blow us off course, and for us not to allow ourselves to be frightened by the novelty and unfamiliarity of the situation and put a brake on restructuring. All this obliges us to be extremely attentive, self-disciplined, and responsible, and at the

same time resolute in the implementation of the restructuring policy. History does not pardon those who let slip the initiative and fail to use an opportunity that presents itself. That is exactly how things are now. We cannot miss the opportunity opened by restructuring for taking our country to new levels of economic and sociopolitical progress.

You and I have a plan of action; it already has been defined with sufficient precision. It involves a radical economic reform, the revival of the power of the Soviets, the restructuring of the party and the opening up of its potential as the political vanguard of society, and the formation of a law-governed state. To speak in general terms, what is involved is the renewal of our socialist society through its all-round democratization. What is involved is an orientation toward people.

However, it is not just a program that is needed. I think you are well aware of this. Vast social energy is needed which is capable of overcoming the force of inertia and the resistance of the old, of smashing the braking mechanisms and transferring society onto the course of dynamic development. This sort of energy is born of restructuring itself, of the scale and depth of the transformations. The revolutionary changes have made people unbend and are mobilizing all social strata. We can see how the activity of the working class is growing and what understanding of the tasks in store it is displaying. While the transition to new forms of economic management is not proceding simply or without problems, and is not producing perceptible positive results immediately in everything, the worker sees the long term and links both the future of the country as a whole and his own personal future with restructuring. This was convincingly reaffirmed by the recent meeting with the workers at the CPSU Central Committee and is attested to by the conversations that have been held in the republic in the last few days.

An attitude of respect toward our peasantry as a full and equal class of society is returning. They are aware of this and are beginning to square their shoulders. The Soviet countryside is on the verge of profound changes. At this time of change for the country, the best forces of our intelligentsia are devoting their knowledge and talent to serving the people and the ideas and cause of restructuring. Of course, the processes taking place in public awareness and people's moods should not be over simplified. After all, it is a question of a sharp break with an entire way of life, with customs and notions that have developed over many decades. Such changes, comrades, as we now know from our own experience, do not come easily, occasionally they are accompanied by unhealthy features. This is all natural under the conditions of the historic turning point we are living through and there are no grounds for dramatizing the situation if it is born in mind what a complex, large-scale, and truly revolutionary matter we have undertaken.

In this connection, it is impossible not to mention the colossal responsibility incumbent upon us in the current stage of restructuring. We must show the utmost exactingness and self-criticism in appraising the results. It is very important here not to give away to euphoria or panic. It would, of course, be very nice if restructuring could change everything more quickly and we could say that features of stagnation were over and done with. However, that is still a long way off.

The truth is that the breakthrough is just beginning. The necessary political and economic prerequisites for bringing the country out onto a path of healthy development are being created. The only motivating force capable of ensuring the success of restructuring has not started operating at full strength yet. I am referring to democracy, self-management, and the active involvement of each and every one of us in the restructuring process.

We have before us an enormous amount of intensive work, but we can cope with it. The main conclusion is that we should proceed decisively along the path of radical economic and political reform and the spiritual and moral rebirth of society. We must not stop before any obstacles. We must attentively and critically analyze the ground already covered and draw the necessary lessons from it, make the corrections to our work that life dictates and push the cause of restructuirng ahead persistently, step by step.

All in all, I would like to put it as follows: As with every revolution, the present restructuirng is not a task for the weak or doubting. We are becoming ever more convinced of this from our own experience.

Comrades, I would like to dwell on some matters now troubling Soviet people more than anything, which are at the center of preelection discussions. Both restructuring as a whole and all its constituent reforms are aimed ultimately at the main purpose: to reveal the humane face of socialism and raise the people's well-being, to put man, his problems, how he feels, and all his everyday life at the center of society's concerns.

We say, and I would like to stress this yet again, that main is both the main target of restructuring and at the same time the main protagonist of the revolutionary changes. This is why it was so vitally important to create, from the very beginning, through the process of democratization and glasnost, a new atmosphere in society that would allow each Soviet person to be himself, develop his abilities and talents, and participate actively in all public and state afairs. This is where we have to start, for there could be no talk of restructuring without changing the atmosphere of society itself. Here we have already achieved a great deal. In the future, democratization of economic life, the revival of the soviets as the organ of true democracy, and self- management will enable us, and we are convinced of this, to uncover the enormous

possibilities of socialism as a system truly of the peopole, in which the power and the fate of the country are in the hands of the working people themselves.

From the very first steps of restructuring, we have understood that its success will be measured not by lofty words or by any abstract criteria, but by such vital indices as the quantity and quality of housing, foodstuffs, consumer goods, and services, and decisive improvement in all work aimed at satisfying people's varied material and spiritual requirements. Even at the initial stage of restructuring it was deemed necessary to work out an active social policy, and this was not just words. We have begun to develop the economy at all levels, facing up to social processes, and to redistribute resources for the benefit of the social sphere. Following long years of stagnation, the scope of housing construction has begun to broaden. Additional large investments have been placed into areas that are extremely important to the people, such as health protection and public education. Large sums have been allocated to roadbuilding, especially in the non-Chernozem zone. We are implementing measures to alter structural policy in order to give a serious boost to broadening the production of consumer goods. For the first time, a substantial acceleration in their growth rate has been achieved compared to the overall increase in industrial production.

A revolutionary measure in our conditions has been that of attracting branches of the defense industry to the radical technical reconstruction of the light and food industries. Hundreds of such enterprises now have started to function for these purposes. The contribution of the defense enterprises to the actual output of consumer articles is growing.

In recent years, the growth in the implementation of services to the population has been in excess of 10 percent. The development of cooperatives and of individual labor activity is making its contribution to this.

During the years of the 5-year plan, the average annual production of grain, compared with the corresponding figures for the previous 5-year plan, increased by 7.5 million tonnes, or 19 percent, meat—in dressed weight by 539,000 tonnes, or 15 percent; milk by nearly 2 million tonnes, or 9 percent; eggs by 1.4 billion, or 9 percent.

This is the main thing: On the road to radical economic reform, preconditions are being laid for improving the whole economy and for raising its effectiveness. Great programs are being realized, among which I would single out the modernization program in the country's machine-building industry.

Why am I saying this? This has a deciding significance for what our economy will be like tomorrow and for how it will work for people. Even today, however, we are beginning to feel a return. For the first time the growth in industrial output comes from an increase in labor productivity, even despite a certain reduction in the number of those working. One can see that these transformations are happening in the results for the development of the economy of the Ukraine, as well. National income, industrial output, and production of many kinds of goods in physical terms are increasing here more quickly than envisaged in the 5-year plan. The entire increment has been achieved through increased labor productivity. More schools, hospitals, and poly clinics than planned have been put into operation, and 200,000 apartments have been constructed in the republic over and above the plan. In other words, changes have come about in the economy.

The effect of many negative tendencies has successfully been stopped. This has allowed a series of important measures to be implemented in the social sphere, but the state of affairs still remains complex. What disturbs us is that in many instances, people have not come to sense a change for the better in living conditions. We have many problems to resolve, both those we received as a legacy of the past and those that have emerged in the process of the current transition from one system of economic management to another.

Today, comrades, the most acute question undoubtedly is supplying the population and normalizing the consumer market. The paradox consists in there having been on the one hand, a real increase in the output of foodstuffs and nonfood items in the past 3 years. Last year, the retail goods turnover and the volume of paid services grew by a record amount. On the other hand, however, a sharp shortfall of many goods is being felt. We receive letters to the Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers; letters from which it is evident that the working people view the goods famine, the chronic lines, and the speculation based on shortages as sabotaging the restructuring. They demand that radical measures be taken in order to rectify the situation in the near future. Here is one such letter. It is from Comrade Dmitriyev from the city of Kakhovka.

Dear Mikhail Sergeyevich:

I think that sabotage is happening in the Ukraine. Macaroni has disappeared from the shop counters, as have confectionery and sweets, biscuits, matches, washing power, and soap. Bread of a disgustingly low quality is being baked. They are throwing stones at restructuring for everything, for the shortfalls.

It is unpleasant to read such letters. They come in, and not just from the Ukraine. So what have we here? We are producing more, but it transpires that we are living all but worse.

It is an extremely serious question; it is a political question. We must get to the bottom of it. The principal cause of the difficulties is the unbalanced state of the

market, which in turn, is connected with the country's neglected financial situation and to no lesser extent with the insufficient development of the production of goods.

The financial difficulties did not arise today; they are inherited from the period when the stake was laid not on efficiency in the economy, on quality and end results, but on gross numbers, oil money, and the covering of the budget deficit with the help of alcohol sales in ever-increasing quantities. Now we are changing our modes of approach in the economy, but the burden of the problems that have piled up in the past continues to press upon the national economy. We have not managed yet to halt inflationary processes or reduce the quantity of money not backed up by available goods.

Moreover, even when new methods of economic management are being introduced, many are contriving to preserve channels for deriving profits unrelated to the real results of the production and provision of quality goods and services. Last year, too, pay went up faster than labor productivity. That means that in many cases we are continuing to pay out unearned money, but of course it is not enough just to note these negative phenomena. Resolute measures are needed to surmount them.

This issue has become the object of special consideration in the CPSU Central Committee and the government. The task of increasing the production of goods and the expansion of the trade network is being brought to the fore here. This year we are to increase the volume of retail trade turnover by R30 billion. That is 30 percent more than last year. A substantial increase in the rate of growth of services provided for the population is planned. Much here depends on the center, on the republics; and especially on practical work locally. A good deal can be done to this end by using the possibilities of the cooperative system and individual labor activity.

In recent days, during my meetings and conversations, I inquired as to how all these problems were being tackled in the Ukraine. I think that everyone now has an understanding of their importance; But I heard a good many complaints on these questions in Kiev, Lvov, and Donetsk. One should not omit to mention here that the requirements of the republic's population for paid services are still being met only to the tune of 35-40 percent compared with rational norms.

The production of consumer goods per ruble of wages for the city of Kiev and Kiev Oblast has fallen in the last 3 years. For donetsk and Lvov Oblasts it has risen by a mere 3-4 percent. That all is not well with services and the growth in production of goods is shown by the issues of money amounting to several billion rubles in those years of the 5-year plan that have passed. Comrades, serious conclusions must be drawn from this. Normalizing the market and the money supply is directly linked to improving finances. We must bring state expenditure into line with its possibilities as quickly as possible. However, we will not solve the financial problems by means of an uncompensated increase in prices, nor through earned savings, but by making use of the vast reserves our national economy has at its disposal.

This is not a simple task, but approaches do exist. It is, first of all, a matter of putting capital construction definitively in order. Everyone, I think, understands the absurdity of a situation in which attempts are made to increase the volumes of construction without so much as a backward glance, with no concern for commissioning facilities. What does this lead to? In 1988, by comparison with 1985, the volume of incomplete construction work rose by R30 billion, exceeding normative indicators by several billion. This money was sunk in digging cellars and laying foundations, in unfinished factories, while approximately one-fifth of it was paid out to people as wages, thereby increasing consumer demand. I will give the figures for the Ukraine. Failure to fulfill the program for commissioning in the case of many projects has led to an increase in the volume of incomplete construction work that now amounts to almost R18 billion or 87 percent of the annual volume of state capital investment. In such a situation, the country's government adopted a decision to cut the volume of capital construction by several billion rubles, while in the immediate future we must move to a new procedure for planning and financing capital construction in which the main indicators for builders' work must be final results.

Another real reserve is a reduction in the burden of defense spending without, of course, damaging the country's security. Moreover, implementation of certain national economy programs that could, as they say, wait awhile, must be halted. The urgent matter of subsidizing loss-making enterprises also must be tackled. After all, billions of rubles are also spent to these ends. The main thing, comrades, is to regulate the economic management mechanism in such a way as to insure, through economic means, that the growth of labor productivity outstrips that of wages.

Work now is nearing completion on drawing up a package of measures to bring the country's finances to a healthy state. We are confronted by the task of reorienting the work of hundreds of enterprises, altering the content of the labor activity of millions of people and subordinating it to what society and people need today.

The most urgent of all the problems in supplying the population is that of food. Many of those in this hall now are thinking, I am sure, that we have been talking, not just for years, but for decades about the need to raise the level of the countryside. We have repeatedly increased procurement prices for agricultural produce, raised capital investments, and transformed the management system. Yet there still has been no radical change. What is the reason for this? It is my profound conviction that the reason lies in the fact that we have never gotten right to the essence of it, to the source of those negative processes

that must be broken: production relations in the countryside. The old methods have been compromised in agriculture more than in any other branch of the economy. What is needed here is for the doors to be genuinely opened to everything capable of radically changing the situation, of returning the rural laborer to the land and the means of production, and of making him master of the situation.

No stereotypes or dogmas must stand in the way of resolving the food problem. All effective forms must receive the full right to a new life here. Administrative obstacles along this path and attempts to conceal one's own mismangement by referring to socialist principles are quite simply impermissible. Surely one must not regard as the peak of socialist organization those chronically loss-making enterprises in which parasitism generally flourishes and wages are in no way linked to one's labor contribution. They can no longer be maintained at the expense of the budget and nonreturnable credits, nor is it expedient to do so.

Of course, this must be done alongside the solution of other problems, including those of providing social amenities in the countryside, strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture, widely applying intensive technologies, and creating a modern infrastructure. We will embark on radical measures to sharply improve food supplies.

Specific ways of restructuring agrarian policy and the targets we must reach will be discussed by the March Central Committee plenum, to which we are attributing extremely important significance. All in all, comrades, the radical economic reform now must be said to have encompassed all sectors of our economy. On the way to implementing it, we are approaching the main problems: What is involved is the restructuring of the relations of socialist ownership themselves. Experience shows without this, new methods of economic management as well as the achievements of scientific and technical progress are rejected like alien elements. Only recently, questions relating to ownership were regarded as something distant, having no particular practical significance.

It is basically scientists, political economists, and lawyers who have discussed them. It now turns out that these are the most vital questions which touch people to the raw. After all, self-management, the rights of labor collectives, the cooperative movement, leasing, contracting, shareholding—all these are ownership relations.

We have firmly decided to proceed along a path of their profound improvement. What is required is a consistent democratization of ownership and to bring it close to the interests of the individual and the labor collective. It should not only be something that belongs to the people, but also be managed by them. Herein lies the essence of the restructuring of socialist ownership relations. Such a process has already got going, and what is more it has proceeded from the bottom.

Let's take the development of leasing. What effect is it having on agriculture? This is already well-known, but in industry, in construction and in the commercial services sphere it turns out that it is also having an immense effect. Preparations are now being completed for a normative act on leasing, which is called upon to give vast scope for the development of leasing relations.

I will say a word or two about the cooperative movement. The cooperative method shows what immense potential reserves the country has at its disposal. It appears that it is possible to increase labor productivity two to three times and to reduce the management apparatus several times. We simply do not have the right to renounce such opportunities in the production of goods and services. It is true that many people are complaining, and not without reason, about high prices, and instances of self-seeking and open speculation on the part of the members of cooperatives. Negative things do indeed exist. Here and there the cooperative movement is turning into a channel for the uncontrolled build-up in personal incomes and aggravating shortages. Of course, we must not reconcile ourselves with this, and we will not do so. We must find optimum criteria for appraising the activity of members of the cooperatives, and on this basis establish firm rules that would enable the cooperative movement to truly develop, and at the same time exclude or minimize the possibility of abuse. To this is related the decision recently adopted on the transfer of questions of the taxation of the cooperatives to the republics.

Another thing, comrades, the restructuring of attitudes to socialist ownership opens the way to overcoming the levelling-out tendencies and the psychology of parasitism, which have become deeprooted in our society.

We must protect the honest, conscientious labor of the working person, whoever he may be; worker, engineer, scientist, lease-holder, or cooperative member. We must protect craftmanship, competence, and the will and ability to work. We must ensure that those who have the advantage are not seeking an easy life, but who want to earn a good living for themselves and their children through intense labor. Only enterprising workers and true professionals are capable of getting the economy out of the mire of stagnation.

In connection with this, let me speak about the right interpretation of social justice. There is much confusion and speculation on this matter, on the basis of which ideas that identify justice with wage-leveling have formed and spread. This is, of course, a serious error. Incidentally, the struggle against wage-leveling in no way means rejecting a policy of social justice or of that most important acquisition of ours, which is social protection. On the contrary, the increment in public wealth as a result of strict observance of the principle of people receiving according to their work and of incentives for high productivity actually will allow us to allocate each

time more and more resources for solving social problems. In the first place, the point is the necessity of improving in the very near future the situation of poor families, children, and pensioners on the basis of growth in labor productivity and the increased efficiency of social production. This is stated quite definitely in the Central Committee's address to the party and the Soviet people.

Comrades, the developing ecological awareness of the people is becoming a manifestation of the democratization of society and a major lever for restructuring. Indeed, nature protection is a question of vital necessity. Billions in resources recently have been allocated for this purpose, but if one looks truth in the eye, one must say that there remains a long way to go to reach the desired turn for the better. The annual release into the atmosphere of tens of millions of tonnes of harmful substances is continuing. We lose tens of thousands of hectares of cultivated land annually. The vegetable and animal worlds are becoming impoverished, and the problem of water resources is becoming more acute. The impoverishment of nature affects the health and general state of people, and deprives people of the natural link with the natural environment, with all the ensuring social and moral consequences. We must completely overcome our underestimation of the significance of ecology.

At this point, I cannot but mention the mass character which the movement for protection of nature has assumed. We should welcome it in every way. And, most importantly, it is necessary to have a precise and clear program for practical action. We need a reasonable balance; we need a well-considered ecological policy. The elaboration of a comprehensive ecological program now is underway. We reckon that it must be discussed by the entire people in a most thorough way. Naturally, a program will not resolve everything all by itself. Success will come when the central bodies, the bodies of popular power and self- administration in the localities, and the public at large get down to preserving the natural environment.

Any project should be subjected to strict and expert scientific analysis from the point of view of the potential damage to nature, and in disputed cases, they should be subjected to a referendum. Here it is necessary not to give way to extremes, but to display realism and responsibility. We are fully aware that one cannot resolve the problems facing the country in a single leap. A consistent policy oriented toward the long term is needed in order to take the development of our society to a new level and to sharply increase the quality of life for Soviet people. We have such a policy, which will gain fresh development in the concept for the economic and social development of the country up to the year 2005. Intensive work currently is proceeding on this and it is involving the center and all republics and scientific forces.

Esteemed comrades, the state of relations among the peoples belonging to the Soviet family has always had primary significance in such a multi-ethnic country as ours. The process of restructuring, democratization, and openness requires that we re-evaluate anew the whole picture of those relations, that we get down to solving the problems that have accumulated in this area. It is necessary frankly to admit that we clearly have underestimated the acuteness of some of them. Last year we had to deal with a flare-up of contradictions on ethnic grounds which are even now making themselves felt, but the experience we have accumulated has not been wasted. The party's principled approach to these matters was outlined in the corresponding resolutions of the 19th CPSU Conference and in the CPSU Central Committee's platform for the current elections. Work already has been unfolded on this basis, during which a broad range of questions of an economic and policital nature are to be examined and optimal decisions have to be found which correspond to the interests and aspirations of all nations and of the Soviet people as a whole. Discussion of the questions of inter-ethnic relations lies ahead at the Central Committee plenum that should take place in the summer. Of course, they will become a subject for constant attention of the newly created organs of power, especially the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

What would I like to mention today? The entire experience we have amassed and all the analyses we have conducted up to now convinces one that the national and inter-ethnic problems can be solved only in the course of restructuring and as an organic component part of that revolutionary process. Any attempt to achieve that goal by passing, or even going against restructuring are utterly doomed to fail. Of course, the questions of harmonizing relations between the center and the republics will not be solved by themselves or automatically in the process of restructuring. Both the economic reform and the reform in the political system are acquiring a specific feature of their own when it comes to national problems.

In this sense restructuring is a continuation of Lenin's policy on nationalities in present-day conditions. I would like to expand on this idea as it applies to the basic questions which face us in the sphere of the nationalities policy. Even more so, as we are already embarking on tackling the tasks of the second stage of political reform, the object of which is the harmonization of national relations in the country.

Let's take such a topical question as relations between the center of the federation and the union republics. The reform of the political system will ensure an increasingly full and real people's power in the local areas and the decisive role of the working people and all nations and ethnic groups in administering state affairs. The opportunities of the elected republican bodies to solve in a sovereign way the basic questions of state and public life, at the same time observing the republics' constitutional obligations to the union, are broadening considerably.

In its turn radical economic reform opens the way to restructuring of the leadership of the economic and social sphere in the union republics on the basis of self-management and self-financing. The main thing here is the transition of all enterprises and associations, notwithstanding to which department they are subordinate, to full financial autonomy, self-financing and self-recovery, and the establishment of economically based relations between them and the republican and local budget.

The budget of a republic should have at its disposal its own sources of revenue, based on long-term norms. The logic of such an approach is that it gives republics more rights and, at the same time, it increases their responsibility for better providing the population with its material and spiritual requirement by means of improving the quality of work and the integrated development of the economy and the rational use of natural resources.

Obviously such a form of restructuring must not lead to autarky or to economic operations based on self-sufficiency [naturalnoye khozyaystvovaniye], for this will damage society more than it will benefit it. It is clear that such questions must be tackled as a complex, fairly, so that by so doing there is no infringement on anyone's interests.

These questions were already posed on the eve of the last session of the Supreme Soviet. What we have to do is to find an optimum correlation between the rights of the federation and the republics on the basis of the common principles of a strong center and strong republics.

At the present a big step has been taken in this direction. A concept of the basic principles of the self-management and self-finacing of the republics has been prepared, taking into account the representatives of party and state bodies, scientists, and specialists of all the republics. As you know, it was discussed the other day at the CPSU Central Committee; it will soon be published for broad discussion; and then it will be submitted for examination by the new supreme bodies of power.

Recently we have also encountered problems of relations between the republics and the nations. This is an extremely delicate matter, and one liable sometimes to take dramatic turns. Both in history and at present we should first and foremost see what unites our peoples and what engenders among them trust and respect and not alienation. Anyone who embarks on any other path bears the heaviest responsibility, first and foremost before their own people, because this is the way into an impasse. We justifiably say that in modern conditions conflicts and disputes between states can be resolved only by political means. This is all the more true of and applicable to interethnic collisions which arise within the bounds of one single, socialist union state.

Calls to try and attain this or that national demand outside the framework of the law, by force, are equivalent to incitement. I have already spoken about this, but I consider it my duty to say this once again most specifically. We have everything necessary to resolve any issue calmly and justly. With the establishment of the new structure of power at the center and in the republics, such opportunities will be considerably expanded.

Speaking about interethnic relations in our country, I should like to single out yet another very important characteristic of these: they permeate the entire social structure, from the union as a whole to every region and labor collective. Virtually everywhere in our country, in all the republics, cities, oblasts, and rayons, people of different nationalities live and work side by side. This has taken shape historically. It is one of the realities with which very many things are bound up, and one cannot fail to take account of it. It should be taken into account in the work of our party and state bodies and of public organizations. Alongside expansion of the rights of the union republics the harmonization of interethnic relations includes enhancing the status of all forms of autonomy, diverse guarantees for the rights of national minorities, right up to the establishment of new national rayons and national soviets in places where representatives of various nationalities live in close proximity.

There are questions relating to the life of people belonging to those nationalities that do not have their own autonomy, whether living in close communities or dispersed in various republics and corners of the country. They understandably have their own national requirements: to study and use their mother tongue, preserve the values of their own culture, and so forth. A great deal is already being done to satisfy these requirements. Only through the channel of restructuring and democratization of our social life can issues relating to the status of the individual or of groups of the population in the milieu of another nationality be successfully resolved.

For in our country, there is almost everywhere—with rare exceptions—a multinational population. Balance of interests, mutual respect, common labor in the name of common goals, mutually enriching and full-blooded spiritual life—these are the preconditions for prosperity and stability in any multinational region, in any city or village, any labor or educational collective, any military unit. It is precisely from such small cells—from the family—that the foundations of mutual understanding between people of different nationalities, the foundations of human communal life are laid.

In the past few days I visited the Lvov area. This year, the 50th anniversary of the reunification of the Ukrainian lands into a single Soviet state will be celebrated. During the meetings, the working people of this amazingly unique and beautiful region spoke of how people lived in previous times and how they live today, what lofty socioeconomic advances they have achieved. Although today there is no shortage of problems, either.

These also were discussed. And another thing: Over the years that have elapsed since the reunification of the Ukrainian lands, a real flourishing of national culture has been achieved.

The fact that much is being done in the Ukraine to satisfy the needs of the people of other nationalities living here also is good. Departments have opened at schools and higher education establishments to teach the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, modern Greek, Crimean Tatar, and Gagauz languages. Crimean Tatar-Russian, Bulgarian-Ukrainian, and Czech-Ukrainian dictionaries have been published. Broadcasts in Bulgarian have started in a number of rayons of Odessa Oblast and in modern Greek in Donetsk Oblast. Broadcasts also are transmitted in Moldavian in rayons of Chernovtsy- and Trans-Carpathian Oblasts. Preparations are underway for the publication of a newspaper in Crimean Tatar. This is how problems of nationality relations should be solved. In a word, comrades, national rebirth has become one of the organic constituent parts of restructuring.

The new social conditions being consolidated in our country today create the possibility for each people to develop its potential on that unique scale history and geography have given us. The peoples will never agree with those who see national rebirth occurring through separatism and self-isolation. Slogans dictated by political ambitions, careerism, or simply by an open hostility to socialism are false, dangerous, and ruinous. We must warn those who are spreading them that they are playing with fire.

We need...we need to build happiness and prosperity together. Our restructuring matches the innermost hopes of all the Soviet peoples and is called upon not to separate them into corners, but to unite them still more closely on a common socialist basis.

Comrades, restructuring has confirmed the ideological and political leadership of the party. When developing the program of social transformations at the 27th congress and the 19th CPSU Conference, we assigned top priority to the task of radically restructuring the activities of the party itself. By relinquishing administrative and other inappropriate functions, the CPSU adopted a policy in favor of the sovereignty of the soviets and political partnership with public organizations. Under party guidance, the processes of democratization have developed widely, the dismantling of the administrative-command system is proceeding vigorously, and a socialist law-governed state is taking shape. In April 1985, we swore allegiance to democracy, and we intend to abide firmly by that policy. Moreover, we can see both the vast potential of the political activity that has accumulated in society and quite a few more obstacles to the development of the democratic process.

The 20 million-strong CPSU today is a vanguard social force, capable of insuring the transition to a renewed, democratic model of socialism without dangerous cataclysms and at minimal cost to society. Being by its nature the party of the working class and expressing, as the ruling party, the interests of the people as a whole, it performs the function of uniting and integrating all political forces, which is always important, especially during such revolutionary periods of development. We see the party's political vanguard role in society as being precisely to coordinate the complex work of reconciling different interests, and together with other public organizations, to identify the priority to be given to the satisfaction of various requirements in accordance with their importance to the whole of society and with the principles of social justice.

In these circumstances, the idea of the party as the political vanguard changes substantially. While remaining the ruling party, it repudiates the diktat of command-based ways and sees its role as being primarily to guide society politically. Democratization and glasnost have begun to enter our party house, arranging much in it in accordance with their own laws and shattering the former conservative style of inner-party life. Party committees and party personnel are learning to work in a new way, relying on the opinions and experiences of the masses. At the same time, it must be admitted that the restructuring of thinking in the party ranks is so far proceeding only slowly, or at least not in the way that we would like, and particularly not in the way that life itself requires.

In some party organizations attempts to brake openly the transition to the new methods of activity are making themselves felt. That is also happening. A number of major and minor figures have still not come to realize the scale of the transformations that are taking place. They continue to console themselves with illusions that the reform will sooner or later stick at some kind of obstacle and that everything will return to the command way of things which is so dear to their hearts. It has to be said bluntly: All this exists in real life.

So we should also decide the pressing cadre matters to take account of this situation and proceed both from the need for restructuring and from the interests of the people. We need now, as never before, strong cadres both at the center and in the localities. Every good worker that devotes his strength and knowledge to restructuring has a right to expect a respectful attitude toward his difficult work and on support from the public. Restructuring is promoting and will promote an increasing number bright, interesting and daring people who are capable of assuming the responsibility for the destiny of this revolutionary cause initiated by us.

Today, when a new political system is being formed, when key questions concerning the country's future are being freely discussed thanks to democratization and

openness, it is particularly important to have the vigorous and active involvement of Communists in these processes. Every party member is obliged to defend the values of socialism, to uphold the basic interests of the working class and the working people, and to work for the consolidation of the Soviet federation on Leninist internationalist principles. Tens of millions of workers, peasants, and intellectuals who have once and for all linked their destiny with socialism not only expect but demand this from the party.

Pluralism of opinion and freedom of discussion presume an oportunity for expressing a very wide range of views and positions. But precisely for this reason the party must actively take part in nationwide debates, showing the rightness of its course of restructing and of renewing socialism. In a word, the CPSU is right now in the process of deep transformations. It even now compares favorably with the party that it was in the recent past. Through joint efforts we will develop the party on a basis of democratic principles and we will restore to it the Leninist aspect throughout: in terms of ideas, organization, and methods of work.

Only a party like this is capable of seeing the cause of restructuring through to the end. In rendering account of ourselves to the people in the preelection campaign, we are right to note major positive changes in international activity. The threat of war has been weakened. The security of the Soviet Union has increased. The prestige of our policies has genuinely grown in the community of states and among the public. This is the main result of the international activity of our party and the Soviet Government from the point of view of the interests of the people and of every Soviet person.

When we had just embarked upon restructuring, the party leadership was primarily concernded as to how matters were proceeding at home, within the country, but then, having begun to restructure, we very soon realized the need to rethink the entire situation worldwide, our own position in the world, our relations with the socialist countries and with states of a different social system: the totality of international relations and problems. In this way we arrived at the new political thinking and a rejection of outmoded notions and patterns, of the habit of seeing the world in black and white and we realized at least two important things.

First, it is not possible to guarantee the security of one's own country without taking into account the security interests of other countries. In a nuclear age reliable security cannot be built by military means, no matter how excellent these might be from the point of view of technology. This prompted us to look again at the very concept of this security and to put forward a fundamentally new concept of comprehensive security embracing all aspects of relations between peoples and states, including their human dimension. Second, in the modern, interlinked and ever more integral world, progress is impossible in a society fenced off from the international process by sealed borders and ideological barriers. This is true of any society, socialist ones included. Genuine socialism, in which the system serves people rather than people serving the system, can develop fully only by interacting with the world as a whole and increasing its contribution in conditions equal with others,—to the development of world civilization, receiving from this development all that does not contradict the principles from which it started. We must get involved in the world's political, economic, and spiritual life while remaining ourselves at the same time. At the end of the 20th century, it is in this way alone that our motherland is able to get a second wind and prove to itself and to others the efficiency, democracy, and humanity of the socialist system. These conclusions, which form the structure of the new thinking, prompted us to embark upon the definitive renewal of foreign policy.

We have decided on the maximal use of political opportunities to remove international tension, achieve mutual understanding with the West, and untie the intricate knots of international contradictions through dialogue, talks, and the search for reasonable compromises. This policy, firmly linked with the profound internal transformations in the country, has made it possible to shift such a boulder overhanging the world as the Soviet-U.S. confrontation. The improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States has created a turning-point in the whole world process.

It has proved possible to remove from the road of peace and progress another dangerous obstacle: the alienation, between two great socialist powers, the USSR and China which at times turned into enmity.

Our relations with many developing countries and, first and foremost, with friendly India are assuming a dynamic nature.

It was even difficult, in such a short time, to anticipate what has happened in Europe in connection with our new policy, bearing in mind here the particular persistence of the consequences of the Cold War. Meetings with the leaders of most European states, as well as other contacts and talks, revealed vast opportunities for freeing European politics from the shackles of militarism and ideological enmity, and for restoring the role of Europe as an integral factor for positive changes throughout the world. The Vienna meeting elevates the European process to a level at which one can make out the first outlines of an all-European home.

Comparing the present situation with what it was like just a few years ago, we can see the extent to which it has been transformed. Dialogues have come to be the norm. Despite all their complexity, negotiation processes produced major results for the first time when they initiated a real reduction in armaments, the settlement of regional conflicts, and a lasting improvement in the international climate.

Our troops have returned home from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union will proceed steadfastly along the path toward a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, calling on everyone, primarily the countries that signed the Geneva agreements, to act in a similar spirit.

One can legitimately regard as a gain for the new thinking the fact that the word trust has changed from a rather abstract category, mainly propagandist in quality, into a political term with specific content, and even into a criterion according to which the level of relations between states belonging to different systems and blocs has started to be measured.

At times we do not notice how the atmosphere is changing. After all, our relations with the West both in politics and in the public, scientific, information and propaganda spheres were basically revolving around the concept of the Soviet threat. They kept accusing and suspecting us and they did not believe a single word we said. Hostility and squabbling which poisoned the international atmosphere and which fanned the arms race were stoked up. Now there are only the inveterate retrogrades who continue to repeat the claims about the Soviet threat, although this does not mean that anti-Sovietism has been dropped from the arsenals by authors of military budgets, masters of the military-industrial complex, and by the ideologues of anticommunism. But the fear of the USSR, which has been whipped up for decades, has started to be dispelled in public opinion in the West. It is proving to be an ever decreasing burden for the serious-minded statesmen too.

A striking phenomenon of the new situation, which was also unexpected in many respects for us ourselves, proved to be the response throughout the world to the earthquake in Armenia. This could not have happened and did not happen in similar cases just 2 years ago. The compassion, the support and the assistance which we too accepted with unprecedented openness and gratitude acquired such a scale and nature that they indeed have become a symbol of the fundamental change in the international moral atmosphere. Hardly anyone will now dare to deny that the change in attitude toward the Soviet Union is of enormous and entirely real importance, not only for our country alone but also for the whole world. Human and moral factors are gathering force and prestige in world politics and in international development. This too is the gain of the new thinking.

Our foreign policy, which is based on the principle of freedom of choice, de-ideologizing of interstate relations, balance of interests, and internationalization of many problems, is open to contacts and cooperation with the most varied forces of the present world. As it turns out, we are able to find a common language and the necessary modicum of mutual understanding with the representatives of such circles and such states with which, as it seemed, we could quite recently have nothing in common. This is not omnivorousness, this is not manipulation of principles for the sake of egoistic interests. This is an understanding of realities and respect for the ability of all members of the international community to participate in progress toward universal peace.

Of course, a solution to the basic world problems still lies ahead. But there are also such problems to which we will still repeatedly need to seek approaches. But it is absolutely obvious—this is admitted by all serious-minded politicians—that the world has become more peaceful and safe. We can hear increasingly frequently from the most authoritative lips and from the NATO countries' state figures that the Cold War is receding into history. Surely all this is related to our security?

But an even more fundamental question arises. For the first time in the postwar years and maybe in all history our country's security has been strengthened not because of the escalation of military power and not because of the increase of the already huge defense expenditure. On the contrary, we have been able to begin the reexamination of our military doctrine in an unequivocally defensive spirit. We have embarked on a substantial reduction of our armed forces and armaments. We are cutting out military expenditure and have started a partial reconversion of military production, redesignating some of it to civilian needs.

Our foreign policy also serves the cause of restructuring in the sense that it clears the way for broader economic cooperation with the outside world and for the country to join in world economic processes.

We are making an abrupt change in our foreign economic activity, toward enabling the USSR to become a full participant in the international division of labor. We are ready to work with others, too, to establish a new world economic and political order which will serve as a reliable guarantee of the survival and development of civilization. We are experiencing a sort of boom in information, cultural, tourist, public and simply human ties with foreign countries and are thereby increasingly opening up to the world, and the world is increasingly opening up to us. This is a very important process, one objectively conditioned by the growing integrality of the world. But it is also a very complex process, for it is not a matter of borrowing whatever comes to hand so long as it is the most modern thing out; nor is it a matter of a cocktail of diverse values or, even more so, a matter of ingratiating oneself. What is involved is rather something so important for peace and progress as true knowledge about one another, interaction of cultures in an atmosphere of self-respect and mutual respect. Such are the chief components of the profound change for the better in the Soviet Union's position in the world, and they are all working toward the renewal of socialism.

In its turn, socialism itself is increasingly actively joining in the universal human process of historical construction. Each people, in making their socialist choice,

determine the forms, methods, and means of constructing a new society which accords with their own historically shaped national values, economic possibilities, and spiritual potential. Now many socialist countries are seeking the ways and forms of transition to a new quality of their life, and to consolidation of society on the basis of uncovering the potential of socialist democracy. Each is sovereignly resolving its own problems and seeking its own answers to questions concerning the life of its own people. The diverse movement toward the common goal, in principle, is the source of the vitality and strength of socialism.

It is in accordance with these conclusions of the new thinking that we are restructuring our relations with the socialist countries, not only theoretically but also in practice. Unconditional independence [samostoyatelnost], full equality, strict noninterference in internal affairs, correction of the deformations and mistakes linked with the earlier period of the history of socialism, more profound and scientifically-based consideration of mutual interests, solidarity and mutual assistance—all this presupposes the responsibility of the party and government of each socialist country to its own people.

Developing all these processes in one's own country means advancing the cause of world socialism and the general progress of mankind. These are the unalterable principles and rules of socialist international relations. One does not have to be a prophet to claim: The socialism that enters the 21st century will be different. It will not be the same as it is now. It will not become free of problems, but having directed its entire material and intellectual potential to serving man and having arrived at all the conclusions from its varied experience, it will open up the whole might which lies in its nature and will become a constructive factor of universal progress.

Comrades, the present elections are being held for the first time on the basis of the new electoral law. We recall how passionately and how meticulously its draft was discussed. All useful amendments and proposals were taken into account. But, of course, only practice can show to what extent the new electoral system corresponds to the requirements of restructuring and to the tasks of the democratization of society.

The voting itself still lies ahead, but it is already clear that it is now a question not of a formal procedure but of true and proper elections of the people's representatives to the highest bodies of authority. This is an enormous step forward in comparison with the practice that existed in our country in the past. Some shortcomings have, of course, already come to light. We can see them. The experience from the present election campaign deserves to be deeply interpreted, and the lessons for the future must be drawn from it. But already now it is possible to say that we will have a strong corps of deputies capable of coping successfully with the accomplishment of the next tasks of restructuring. Many, and first and foremost the working people, rightly say: We don't need a parliamentary talking-shop, but we do need a real people's body of supreme power.

We have embarked on a great new cause, which requires not only a bold and well considered quest and unusual solutions and methods. It also needs courage. It needs courage to reject old forms and approaches related to obsolete notions of socialism, and at the same time to oppose the attempts to denigrate and discredit socialist values and the objectives of restructuring and to deflect off from the chosen path. Guarding the lofty and pure revolutionary ideals and socialist convictions, which survived despite everything we have experienced, we must completely understand all that hampered their free and reasonable implementation. Active and creative work to attain the objectives of restructuring is now assuming priority. We have to learn to approach any kind of question, great and small, by constantly bearing in mind the main aim of socialism: the well-being of man, his interests, and needs. We will be able to achieve this only through restructuring, which has become the cause of all peoples of our country. (Prolonged applause)

Meets Kiev Citizens After Speech

LD2402140889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] After giving a speech, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev held a lively discussion with Kiev citizens in the foyer of the Ukrainian Palace of Culture:

[Begin recording]

[Unidentified voice] Allow the aviation people to say a few warm words to you.

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Unidentified voice] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we, the Kiev heroes of the Soviet Union, greet you. There are 200 of us.

[Gorbachev] 200?

[Unidentified voice] 200.

[Gorbachev] And all are alive?

[Unidentified voice] Yes they are; they live here in (Kiev). They support your program, they support the governments program. We are aware of your difficulties, of how restructuring is proceeding with difficulty. We are ready to fight as we once did at the front!

[Gorbachev] But this time not in the forests, but here, on the spot; for the idea of restructuring.

[Unidentified voice] Yes. I am a fighter pilot. We fought during the war. We are internationalists.

[Gorbachev] This is a good position to have to exterminate shortcomings.

[Unidentified voice] That is why—provided you have the time when you are in Moscow—we would like you to ask all the heroes of the Soviet Union, (?maybe on Victory Day), to come here so we could chat, and together work out a program.

[Gorbachev] Good idea, good idea, good idea! I understand you already.

[Unidentified voice] A big thank you, on behalf of all the heroes of the Soviet Union.

[Gorbachev] Convey to them my greetings. Veterans, keep up (?your good cheer).

[Second unidentified voice] Mikhail Sergeyevich, on behalf of war and labor veterans: Just as we battled and fought for the Soviet power and the line of the party, so too will we as war and labor veterans—we understand you, we support you.

[Gorbachev] Only unity of all generations and unity of all peoples is capable of creating for us a foundation for a successful solution to the tasks of restructuring. If we all start pulling in different directions, nothing will be done.

[Second unidentified voice] Yes, and it would also be desirable to have more resolute measures against extremist tendencies which still make themselves felt.

[Gorbachev] Take them into the embrace of democracy! [laughter] A tremendous thank you to you, for everything! [applause] [passage indistinct]

[Third unidentified voice] [words indistinct] we are now alive! It is a time of glasnost, a time when we can show what we are worth, realize our potential.

[Gorbachev] And make clear what is unclear.

[Third unidentified voice] And make clear what is unclear.

[Gorbachev] And, at long last, find yourselves.

[Third unidentified voice] And, generally, it is now interesting to be alive, it is interesting; when each person's individuality is making itself felt you feel it's worth it to make things better. A big thank you to you!

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Raisa Gorbacheva] You know, this is what I found surprising; Mikhail Sergeyevich, wait, I met a woman; she is deputy of the rayon soviet, has been for many years. [passage indistinct] But suddenly it turns out that we are all so different; so different; everyone has a view of their own.

[Fourth unidentified voice] And a big thank you for having shown abroad the face of our women.

[Gorbachev] Well, let us break through and see (?what else there is to see). Thank you.

[Voices] Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, thank you. [end recording]

Gorbachev Ends Ukraine Tour, Departs

LD2402132589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, left Kiev for Moscow today on completion of his stay in the Ukraine. At the airport he was seen off by Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; Shevchenko, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR; Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR; and other officials and representatives of the public.

Earthquake Reported Near Frunze; 'No Destruction'

LD2402092689 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Frunze February 24 TASS—An earthquake of force 4 in the epicentre took place on Friday in Kirghizia at 3:30 a.m., Moscow time [0030 GMT]. According to the seismology Institute of the Republican Academy of Sciences, the epicentre was in the southern slopes of the Kirghiz ridge 25 kilometres south of the Kirghiz capital. The earthquake occurred as a result of a shift along the Shamsinsk-Tyundyuks fracture. Force 3 shocks were felt in Frunze, force 44—in the village of Tash-Bashat and force 3-4 in the villages of Gornaya Mayevka and Koi-Tash. According to preliminary data, nobody was injured and there is no destruction.

Seismic Activity Continues in Armenia

NC2402130689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Feb, ARMENPRES—New underground tremors have been registered lately at the Spitak seismic zone. An ARMENPRES reporter has inquired about this at the earthquake headquarters of the republic's Academy of Sciences.

The headquarters said: The republic's seismic stations are constantly registering underground activity both in the main epicenter and on the periphery. Thus, on 19

February, between 0800-0930 hours [0400-0530 GMT] two tremors registering 4.5 and 5.5 points [scale not specified] occured in Spitak region while a tremor of up to 4 to 4.5 was registered in Stepanavan.

On 21 February, more powerful tremors were registered. At 0206 hours [2206 GMT on 20 February] a tremor of up to 6 points was registered southeast of Kirovakan; at 0442 hours [0042 GMT] a tremor of up to 5 points was registered to the east of the Spitak epicenter. The character and the number of the registered tremors indicate that the center of earthquake is subsiding in the depths of the earth's crust. That is a normal phenomenon and could last a long time.

More on Charges Against 'Karabakh Committee'

NC2402091589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Statement by the Armenian Republic's procurator; date not given; for Yerevan radio version see the 23 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT p 84]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Feb, ARMENPRES—The USSR procurator general's inspection team is investigating the criminal charges levelled against the following leaders and activists of the so-called Karabakh Committee: B.G. Araktsyan, A.P. Galustyan, S.V. Gevorgyan, A.A. Agopyan, R.A. Ghazaryan, S.S. Ghazaryan, A.G. Manucharyan, V.M. Manukyan, KH.V. Stamboltsyan, V.S. Siradeghyan, D.M. Vartanyan and Ter (?Petrosyan).

The named individuals have organized and directed many illegal rallies and demonstrations in Yerevan in 1988; have openly come out with instigatory calls; and have lured the participants in the meetings and demonstrations into group actions which led to gross violations of public order and to the disintegration of public transport and of the activities of state enterprises and firms. All of them have been arrested.

The results of the preliminary investigation into criminal charges and of the judicial inquiry will be released.

Moldavia's Smirnov Removed on Bribery Charges

LD2302161189 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Kishinev February 23 TASS—Former Moldavian Communist Party number two Viktor Smirnov has been removed from the party's Central Committee and is under criminal investigation on bribery charges.

He lost his seat on the Central Committee at the latter's plenum on Wednesday for having compromised himself during his work on the staff of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow.

Speaking at Wednesday's plenum, Moldavian Communist Party leader Semen Grossu related that in August 1984 Smirnov, then a functionary on the Central Committee staff in Moscow, was elected second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, a post he held until November 1988.

During those years much was done in Moldavia, a constituent republic in the western Soviet Union, to mop up the legacy of the period of stagnation and rectify mistakes in the placement and training of officials.

Many people erroneously associated the results of that work by the entire Central Committee and its Bureau with Smirnov's name. He actively cultivated this image himself, through the mass media and his numerous public appearances.

In fact, however, the former second-in-command Moldavian party official's style of leadership, Grossu said, was that of a dictator. He often ignored criticism, failed to take into the opinions of other party members and was prone to make decisions unilaterally.

This clearly adversely affected the situation within the Moldavian Communist Party.

Its leader said it should be admitted bluntly that all the Communists, and primarily the Central Committee Bureau members, were to blame for this.

"We would talk to him as a comrade to comrade but he was oversensitive about any criticisms. We weren't aware at the time, of course, that Smirnov committed crimes during his work in Moscow," Grossu explained.

He said that Smirnov is now in custody and under investigation on charges of involvement in the notorious corruption affair in Central Asian Uzbekistan.

The central public prosecutor's office reported that the investigators do not know of any data implicating Smirnov in any criminal activity during his work in Moldavia.

The Moldavian Communist Party Bureau, Grossu told the plenum, views the Smirnov case as having caused serious damage to the prestige of party bodies in Moldavia.

He said that the affair should prompt most serious conclusions.

Foreign Ministry News Briefing on Emigration

LD2402130389 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—"Blank spots in history. Problems of emigration yesterday and today"—this was the subject of a briefing held today for Soviet

and foreign pressmen at the press centre of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR. It was arranged by the "NOVOSTI" Press Agency (APN).

The reasons and motivations of emigration from the USSR were basically different at different stages of Soviet history, it was stated by Eduard Rozental, political analyst of the APN. The reasons that made people leave their home country after the revolution, during the Civil War and, for instance, during the years of Stalinist repressions are quite different, indeed. It should be noted, moreover, that the term "emigration" was of a negative hue to Soviet people because of certain historical nuances. There were cases when, apart from renegades, the country was left by prominent scientists and cultural figures.

Rozental said that almost half million people had left the Soviet Union in the post-war years. As many as 300 thousand had returned, but 40 thousand of them left the country again.

The white emigration, it was stated by Leonid Shkarenkov, deputy director of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences under the USSR Academy of Sciences, has never been homogenous. Although white emigration is a poltical phenomenon, he noted, most of the emigres did not go into politics. Only a few adventurists advocated struggle against Soviet Russia till victory.

Much has changed in our attitude to the emigration, Shkarenkov continued. The new political thinking makes itself felt in this sphere, too. It is high time, apparently, to call in Moscow or some other city a forum of representatives from fellow-countrymen organisations abroad, of scientists and cultural figures, who could pool their efforts in the struggle for peace and mankind's survival.

Replying to pressmen, Yuri Reshetov, head of the International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said that the procedures for Soviet citizens' travel abroad where simplified substantially of late. This does not mean, he said, that all the problems have been resolved in this sphere. There are still cases of red-tape and formal approach to the applications of citizens.

Reshetov noted that "although the Soviet Union, as any other country, for that matter, does not encourage emigration, we shall devote close attention to questions of its regulation in keeping with the Helsnki and Vienna agreements."

*Draft Law on Output Quality, Consumer Protection

WA18270057a Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Feb 89 pp 1-3

[Unattributed text of "Law of the USSR on Product Quality and Protection of Consumer Rights"]

[Text] This law establishes and underpins legally in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR the relations between those involved in social production associated with insuring the quality of scientific and technical, industrial, construction and agricultural output and transport, supply, trade and other kinds of work and services, and also makes provision for protecting the rights and interests of consumers.

The law is aimed at creating the conditions essential for radical improvement in output quality in order to satisfy to the fullest the growing needs of the national economy and the population and improve working and leisure conditions for Soviet people and maintain their health, protect the environment, and insure stable and dynamic development of the socialist economy and growth in the country's export potential.

The law provides for a strengthening of the economic mechanism and economic levers and incentives to insure quality and competitiveness in the products developed, manufactured and used, and in work and services produced, under conditions of the democratization of public life, and for combining centralized planned leadership of the economy with the development of money-exchange relations and socialist competition.

The law obligates organs of state authority and management to provide guarantees and take effective steps to protect the rights of citizens in supplying them with high-quality products, work and services.

I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. Tasks of the legislation on product quality and protection of consumer rights.

Tasks of this legislation on product quality and protection of consumer rights include regulating relations in the development, production, marketing and use of products and establishing the rights and responsibilities of all those involved in social production in order to satisfy to the fullest the growing demands of citizens, enterprises and socialist society for production-technical products, consumer goods and high-quality work and services that meet the requirements for people's safety and health, protect the environment and also strengthen the law in this area.

Article 2. Basic principles of legislation on product quality and protection of consumer rights.

The legislation on product quality and protection of consumer rights is based on the following principles:

—top priority observance of the interests of the consumer, all-around protection of his rights and a greater consumer role in defining product quality;
—effective use of product quality control systems and insuring the economic interest of developers, manufacturers and consumers and society in general in improving quality;
—creating favorable conditions for increased professional skill and activity by workers and the efficient activity of each labor collective aimed at developing, manufacturing, marketing and making rational use of high-quality products;
—state support and incentive for the development and production of new, competitive products and progressive technologies based on the achievements of science and technology;
—broad participation by the workers in insuring high quality in products and work and services;
—clear-cut definition of the rights, obligations and responsibilities of each entity involved in insuring high product quality.

Article 3. Legislation of the USSR and the union republics on product quality and the protection of consumer rights.

1. Relations associated with insuring product quality and protection of consumer rights are regulated by this law and other legislative enactments of the USSR and the union republics published in accordance with it.

2. The following fall within the competence of the USSR in the area of insuring product quality and protecting consumer rights:
—establishing basic principles of state policy in insuring product quality and protecting consumer rights;
—improving standardization within the country and establishing a system of certification, state evaluation and control over product quality;
—determining directions in which the economic mechanism can act on product quality;
—establishing procedure for evaluating product quality during foreign economic activity;
—establishing basic provisions in protecting the rights and interests of consumers.

3. Matters in the area of regulation of relations associated with product quality and protecting consumer rights not falling within the competence of the USSR shall be dealt with by the union republic.

Article 4. International agreements.

If rules other than those established under Soviet law covering product quality and protection of consumer rights are established for an international agreement to which the USSR is party then the rules of the international agreement shall apply.

Article 5. Applicable concepts.

For the purposes of this law the following concepts shall apply:

Product. The result of labor activity aimed at satisfying social and personal demand, including scientific and technical developments, the manufacture of production-technical goods and consumer goods, construction projects, and work and services.

Product Quality. The aggregate of properties reflecting the level of an innovation, reliability, durability and efficiency, and the ergonomic, esthetic, ecological and other consumer attributes of products that make it capable of satisfying stipulated or proposed requirements within the system of socialist production relations.

New Product. A product with improved or fundamentally new consumer attributes, developed on the basis of scientific research, test-and-design and planning work.

Product Competitiveness. Products possessing better consumer qualities compared with similar products on the market and as a result of this enjoying greater demand.

Enterprise. An independent state, cooperative or other enterprise (or association), scientific research, planning-and-design or other organization carrying on its activity in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, communications, science and scientific services, material-technical supply, trade, the services sphere and other sectors of the national economy.

Client. An enterprise, state organ or citizen ordering independently or on assignment some work or the production of some product.

Developer. An enterprise or citizen carrying out scientific research, test-design and planning work to develop and initiate production of a new product.

Manufacturer. An enterprise or citizen manufacturing a product for sale.

Quality of Labor. The degree of social usefulness of labor and its result and the professional ability to develop a high-quality product.

Better than World Level. The highest indicators in the world for similar products.

Seller (Supplier). An enterprise or citizen marketing products under the terms of a contract of sale, delivery or forward contracting.

Buyer. An enterprise or citizen using products for its or his production or personal needs.

Certification. An action taken in order to confirm with the necessary authenticity that a product meets specific standards or technical conditions with the issuance of an appropriate document.

Standard. A normativ-technical document establishing the basic requirements for the quality of a product and rules for its development, manufacture and application, and also the requirements made of other objects as determined by the USSR Council of Ministers. By a standard is understood a state standard of the USSR or a union republic, and also an international standard adopted by the USSR. In terms of their legal standing, construction norms and rules are the same as state standards.

International Standard. A standard adopted by an international organization (CEMA, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), the International Electrotechnical Commission (IEC) and others).

Technical Specification. A normativ-technical document establishing additional and state standards, and in the event of there being no such document, particular requirements for quality and other indicators for a specific product manufactured by an enterprise, and also a technical description, formula, model or reference equivalent to this document. The requirements provided for by technical specifications cannot be lower than state standards.

II. FOUNDATIONS OF THE SYSTEM FOR INSURING PRODUCT QUALITY IN SOCIALIST PRODUCTION RELATIONS.

Article 6. Establishing requirements for product quality.

1. Requirements for product quality are specified by consumers (clients), developers and manufacturers, and also state organs. Priority in specifying these requirements belongs with the consumer.

2. The decisive influence of the consumer in specifying requirements for product quality is guaranteed as follows:

—by a guaranteed right of participation by consumer enterprises (clients) and consumer cooperatives in developing standards, technical specifications and other normativ-technical documentation for production;

—broad participation by an association of enterprises, consumer cooperatives and citizens of the USSR in preparation of final enactments and work at the state level on the most important avenues in improving product quality;

—market development and socialist competition in output production;

—effective legal safeguards for consumer interests.

3. When specifying requirements for product quality developers and manufacturers shall be guided by the following:

—the current and predicted requirements of consumers, the national economy and export needs and the need to satisfy these requirements in the most effective way;
—a differentiated approach to quality characteristics of products, proceeding from the demands of various consumer groups;
—Soviet and foreign experience in the field of design and planning for new products and the development of highly efficient technologies;
—large-scale application of discoveries and inventions for the purpose of developing high-quality new products determining the long-term requirements of society.

4. Proceeding from national interests, state organs shall specify requirements for product quality binding on all those involved in social production, that insure the following:

—human safety and health;
—environmental protection and a high level of ecological safety;
—saturation of the domestic market with high-quality products and expanded production for export;
—rational utilization of manpower and material, energy and natural resources in production and technically compatible product requirements.

5. Quality requirements shall be fixed in appropriate normativ-technical documents and in contracts.

Article 7. Labor and product quality.

1. The decisive factor in guaranteeing and constantly improving product quality shall be the quality of labor performed by citizens of the USSR.

Each citizen involved in social production shall be obligated to have a conscientious attitude toward labor and through his labor to create a high-quality product.

Highly skilled labor that insures the creation of high-quality products shall be respected and shall enjoy general recognition in the country and be encouraged in every possible way.

2. Citizens of the USSR employed in socially useful labor should base their attitude toward insuring high-quality products on the following:

—mutual assistance and the exchange of experience and labor skills;
—strict exactingness toward the quality of labor and its results at each work place;
—evaluation of professional skill in the worker and wages commensurate with his labor, proceeding from the main criterion, namely, product quality;

—the personal responsibility of each person, from worker to manager, for the quality of his own labor;
—the prevention in the labor process of any action that could harm product quality.

3. One integral part of the labor contract should be the obligation of the worker constantly to improve his own qualifications and skills and work in a high-quality manner, and also the obligation of the enterprise to provide the conditions needed for this.

In the assimilation of new products and in making improvements in production technology the managers of an enterprise and its subdivisions shall organize study for workers in the changing production conditions, and in labor methods and the requirements for high-quality products.

Workers, specialists and employees who do not undergo training and certification for high-quality fulfillment of the technical operations and work assigned to them shall not be permitted to perform such work.

4. The managers of an enterprise and its subdivisions shall be answerable to the labor collectives for creation of the conditions essential for efficient and high-quality labor by each worker and for revealing to the fullest his capabilities and showing creative initiative, and for enhancing interest in the final results, namely, the creation of high-quality products.

Article 8. Personnel professionalism and skills.

1. Use of the latest equipment and maintaining progressive technologies and on this basis producing high-quality products should be insured by the high level of professionalism and skills of workers, specialists and managers. To this end organs of state management and the enterprises shall shape and constantly improve a system for the continuous training and retraining of personnel and improvements in their skills, which should insure the necessary improvements in their qualifications and skills.

2. Organs of state management shall be obliged in accordance with their competence to provide in the higher and secondary specialized training establishments, and also establishments that improve the skills of specialists and workers, facilities for studying technical, economic and legal problems involved in improving product quality and for training personnel who possess an up-to-date knowledge of the methods used in the development and production of high-quality products.

3. Enterprise managers shall organize planned and continuous improvement in the skills of workers and specialists in order to insure that their professional training remains commensurate with the constantly growing level of equipment and technology, and also training for new workers and specialists in the features of production organization and technical and labor processes and their detailed familiarization with the requirements specified for the products produced and work completed. When switching to new technological processes and the startup of new kinds of output, training for workers shall be provided as a most important integral part of production training.

4. Developers of new production facilities and technical processes shall be obligated as part of the technical documentation to prepare for consumers recommendations on training for personnel and on a long-term basis devise training programs and textbooks, simulators and other technical training facilities.

Article 9. Collective forms of worker participation in insuring product quality.

1. The most important forms of worker participation in insuring product quality are quality groups, creative brigades and other collectives (referred to hereinafter as quality groups) set up for this purpose at enterprises.

Quality groups shall be organized by workers on a voluntary basis. Their creation and numerical strength and professional and skill makeup shall not be subject to any rules or permission from management organs at an enterprise.

2. The quality groups shall carry on their activity in cooperation with the administration and the public organizations for the purpose of finding the most successful solutions for enterprise tasks in insuring product quality on the basis of improvements in production technology, labor organization and the rationalization of work places.

The enterprise administration shall consider proposals from the quality groups and organize their implementation. The quality groups may participate directly in implementation of proposals adopted by the administration both during work time and in free time away from main production under conditions of cross-utilization of labor or contract.

3. The enterprise administration shall create the conditions for effective activity by the quality groups. In order to work on and implement proposals to improve product quality it shall allocate material-technical resources and funding as required.

Members of quality groups who are the sponsors of proposals, and also managers and other officials at an enterprise directly helping the quality groups shall be offered moral and material incentive.

4. At their own initiative quality groups may set up associations within the framework of the enterprise and similar groups at neighboring enterprises, and also sector and territorial associations and national associations. Associations shall study and disseminate leading Soviet and foreign experience gained from the work of the

quality groups and circles, organize study for the leaders of quality groups, and also competitions and reviews, participate in cooperation with foreign and international associations of quality groups and circles, and help to send the most active members of the quality groups to foreign countries to study methods for insuring product quality. Expenses connected with carrying out these measures shall be paid by interested enterprises.

In their work the associations of quality groups shall cooperate with consumers and consumer societies, and also with associations of enterprises that are product clients.

Article 10. The enterprise as the basic element in the development and production of high-quality products.

1. The enterprise is the main element of the economy and its main task is to satisfy demand from consumers, the national economy and export needs for high-quality products.

When developing and producing products the enterprise shall be guided by the interests of consumers and society. It shall not have the right to improve its economic position at teh expense of the quality of products manufactured or to carry out actions leading to monopolization of production and infringement on the interests of consumers.

2. The enterprise shall independently determine its main emphasis, aims and tasks and shall implement measures to insure that output produced is of high quality.

The administration and labor collective of the enterprise shall organize the production of output while strictly observing the requirements of state standards, technical specifications and contracts.

In order to insure high-quality products the enterprise shall build its relation with other enterprises and organizations, and also with citizens, on the basis of contracts. In the event of disagreements on the quality of products enterprises should be guided by mutual economic interests and strive to resolve them by mutual agreement.

3. In order to insure the high quality of products during development and manufacture the enterprise should do the following:

—make use of domestic experience in the development and operation of comprehensive product quality control systems and improve them on the basis of the latest achievements of international practice;
—work on technical specifications and if necessary plans for state standards for its own products;
—define quality requirements for materials and subassemblies mandatory for all developers;
—conduct product testing under conditions as close as possible to its application (or operation) by consumers;
—make effective use of information on the quality of products being manufactured and being operated by consumers;
—apply the achievements of science and technology and forms for the organization of production that insure the development, production, storage and transport of high-quality products;
—cooperate with similar enterprises to devise joint actions to insure high-quality products.

4. The enterprise administration shall create the necessary production and social conditions for workers such as insure the manufacture of high-quality products.

In the event of violation of production conditions that may lead to the manufacture of substandard products, a worker has the right to demand that this violation be eliminated and suspend fulfillment of the work assigned to him. A manager giving instructions for the continuation of work under such conditions assumes responsibility for the manufacture of substandard products.

5. The labor collective at the enterprise shall do the following:

—jointly with the administration devise measures aimed at insuring and improving high-quality products, and monitor compliance with such measures;
—demand a halt to actions by the administration that may lead to deterioration in product quality;
—raise the question of responsibility of officials and other workers to blame for actions that result in substandard products;
—cooperate with the labor collectives of similar enterprises to devise joint actions to insure high-quality products.

6. State organs shall not have a right to intervene in the activity of the enterprise with regard to the forms and methods used to insure high-quality products. In the event of violation of this requirement the enterprise has the right to appeal to the organs of state arbitration to rule on the validity or invalidity of such an act.

Article 11. Associations of enterprises that are product consumers.

1. With the agreement of their own labor collectives enterprises may set up on a voluntary basis cost-accounting associations of product consumers (referred to hereinafter as enterprise associations) for the purpose of preventing a monopoly situation for the suppliers of material-technical resources in short supply essential to insure the high quality and competitiveness of output produced.

2. Enterprise associations shall be formed by meetings of fully empowered representatives of the inaugurating enterprises and shall operate on the basis of bylaws adopted by these meetings.

The creation of enterprise associations shall not be conditional upon permission from higher organs or state organs. Associations shall be deemed to have been set up and recognized as legal entities from the moment of the adoption of the bylaws.

The bylaws of an enterprise association shall not be registered in state organs.

3. Associations have the right to set up enterprises to acquire, produce and prepare for use material-technical resources essential for the members of the association in order to manufacture high-quality products.

4. Enterprise associations shall organize fairs and auctions, promote the development of socialist competition in order to extend opportunities for consumers to choose products of the required quality, and take part in monitoring of the soundness of prices for products used.

Article 12. The role of the state in controlling product quality.

1. Making use of primarily economic methods for management of the national economy, the state shall carry out purposeful actions to insure the quality of products manufactured in the country and shall provide incentive for the development and manufacture of products that meet top world standards, and shall create favorable conditions for comprehensive improvement in the quality of goods, work and services.

2. The state shall promote rapid assimilation of the achievements of science and technology as the basis for raising the technical level, efficiency and competitiveness of products, and shall create economic conditions for enhanced interest by enterprises in introducing innovations and developing the market for scientific and technical products.

The state shall provide effective support by the resources available to it to develop and duplicate fundamentally new, high-efficiency products, based on scientific discoveries and major inventions, that are better than the best available Soviet and foreign models and distinguished by their high level of competitiveness.

3. Organs of the state authorities and administrations of the USSR and the all-union and autonomous republics and local soviets of people's deputies shall, within the limits of their competence, do the following:

—make provision in plans for economic and social development for the development and manufacture (and delivery) of very important kinds of new high-quality products;
—confirm state standards, establish requirements for product quality with respect to people's safety and health and environmental protection, and set up national centers for product certification;

—establish economic advantages that provide incentive for the development of new, competitive products;

—exercise normativ control with respect to insuring product quality, and also with respect to protecting the rights of citizens and enterprises in this area;

—monitor compliance with product quality requirements in order to protect national interests;

—promote the generalization and dissemination of advanced Soviet and foreign experience in improving product quality;

—jointly with the consumer societies (or associations) periodically carry out selective statistical studies of the quality of products being marketed and the relationship between quality and price with regard to new articles, publishing the results of these studies in the press;

—promote the development of cooperation between enterprises and international organizations and foreign companies on matters of product quality.

III. FIXING STANDARDS AND EVALUATION AND CONTROL OF PRODUCT QUALITY

Article 13. Product Quality Standards.

1. Standards requirements for product quality shall be established by USSR or union republic state standards and the technical specifications required to manufacture and produce output, while the quality of planning documentation, construction-and-assembly work and construction projects shall meet construction standards and rules.

Legislation of the USSR and union republics may make provision for other kinds of normativ-technical documentation establishing requirements for the quality of particular work and services, giving due consideration to their special features.

Procedure for approving all kinds of normativ-technical documentation shall be determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

2. Standards requirements for product quality aimed at insuring people's safety and health and eliminating or reducing to a minimum any adverse environmental effect should be established by state standards and the corresponding technical specifications.

For the main kinds of raw materials and materials for articles used by many sectors, and construction structures essential for the consumer, quality indicators shall be established by state standards. For groups of one-of-a-kind products, giving due consideration to their special features, in the state standards only general standards and the most important technical-economic indicators shall be established on a differentiated basis, including those for resource savings.

3. Technical-economic indicators established by state standards must meet consumer requirements, reflect the best achievements of the enterprises of our country, and take into account world achievements in this area. These indicators shall be at least as good as international standards.

4. State standards and technical specifications establishing quality requirements for products shall be established during the process of their development, be agreed with the main consumers (or clients) of the product, and periodically (depending on the kind of product, but at least once every 5 years) be subject to inspection and renewal.

When state standards and technical specifications are being drawn up they should agree with the quality requirements made of products and the raw materials, materials and subassemblies used to produce them.

5. The following shall be considered unlawful:

—on the part of any person: violation of the requirements of state standards, construction standards and rules or technical specifications during the manufacture of a product;
—on the part of any enterprise: the manufacture of a product and the establishment of a price for it without approved state standards, construction standards and rules or technical specifications.

Products not meeting the requirements of state standards, construction standards and rules or technical specifications shall be deemed substandard and cannot be used for their direct purpose but must be used for other purposes or reprocessed.

Products whose use may cause harm to the life and health of citizens or the environment shall be reprocessed, or if this is impossible, destroyed.

6. Product quality requirements shall be established on the basis of direct application of the standards of international organizations as USSR state standards.

The manufacture of products in accordance with the national standards of foreign countries at the request of consumers in those countries shall be permitted.

Article 14. Main requirements for enterprises in insuring product quality giving due consideration to the special features of their activity.

1. Client requirements regarding a product being manufactured are formulated as a technical order (or planning order) in which the consumer terms and progressive technical-economic solutions are reflected.

Agreement and approval of the following are not permitted:

—technical orders to develop a new product whose quality requirements are lower than the standards in force in the USSR;
—technical orders for planning and preplanning and planning decisions that fail to make provision for compliance with requirements to insure people's safety and health and environmental protection and measures to prevent emergency situations.

In their orders for planning for construction of new enterprises, buildings and installations, or the expansion, reconstruction or retooling of existing enterprises, buildings and installations, clients for construction products shall establish the requirements for the technical level, efficiency and quality of planning decisions on the basis of progressive indicators for the technical level of production and quality of construction products.

2. The developer shall insure the following:
—that the technical-economic indicators of the product being developed or updated meet the requirements of the technical order;
—the development of state standards and technical conditions, including those providing for long-term requirements for product quality;
—testing of the product being handed over for production under conditions as close as possible to actual operating conditions;
—opportunities for further quality improvement and prompt renewal of the product before it becomes obsolete.

The developer of a final product has the right to establish requirements for the technical level, service life, reliability and quality of the materials and subassemblies of articles binding on the developers of such materials and subassemblies.

The developer shall provide the manufacturer with assistance in starting up production of the product and shall conduct his own quality inspection during the production process.

3. The manufacturer shall insure the following:

—output of the product in accordance with the requirements of the standards, technical specifications and contracts;
—improvement in the products manufactured, except for cases in which an independent change in the design directly by the manufacturer is forbidden under existing legislation;
—prompt withdrawal of obsolete products from production;
—assistance for the consumer in production startup and training for personnel in accordance with the conditions specified by the contract;
—the development of company trade and company services for consumers, and also supplying them with spare parts within guaranteed periods and after the expiry of guarantee periods.

4. Enterprises engaged in the transport, storage and marketing of products shall insure the following:

—preservation of the production qualities and its consumer attributes in accordance with state standards, technical specifications and contracts;

—introduction of progressive technologies and specialized technical facilities for product transport and storage.

Article 15. Product Certification.

1. Mandatory certification shall be required for products for which state standards contain requirements for people's safety and health and environmental protection. The production, sale and use, and also the importing of such products into the USSR without certification in accordance with the requirements of state standards indicated shall be forbidden.

Mandatory certification shall be required for products intended for export if this is so established by the legislation of the importing country or by contract.

2. In order to obtain confirmation of the high quality of a product a manufacturer shall have the right to certify it in accordance with any requirements established by the state standards or technical specification.

3. Product certification shall be based on the results of its certification tests in accordance with the program, method, volume and procedure established by appropriate state standards. The USSR national certification organ established by the USSR Council of Ministers may also order any other program of product testing.

As a rule product certification testing in accordance with the requirements of state and international standards and also national standards of other countries shall be done at independent certification testing centers specially accredited for this purpose in the USSR or abroad using existing procedures as laid down by international certification agreements to which the Soviet Union is a signatory. Product certification testing in accordance with the requirements of state standards shall be permitted in testing centers (or testing organizations) empowered by the USSR national certification organ, and also, with its permission, directly at the site of operation of a product by a consumer.

A certificate of compliance shall be issued on the basis of positive results from certification testing and given the presence at the manufacturing enterprise of conditions that insure stable quality for the certified product and effective quality control.

4. Certification testing centers in the USSR shall carry on their activity on a full cost-accounting basis.

Product manufacturers shall pay for the cost of services in conducting certification, and also provide free of charge all necessary materials and models of the product undergoing certification. Such materials and models shall be selected by representatives of the testing centers.

5. Methodological guidance for product certification in the country and for the coordination of this activity and for state control over its correctness shall be provided by the USSR national certification organ. This organ shall represent the Soviet Union in relations with fully empowered state certification organs of other countries and in international certification organizations.

6. The manufacturing enterprise shall have the right at its own initiative to appeal to the USSR national certification organ to request an evaluation of its system to insure compliance with the product quality requirements of the International Organization for Standardization (the ISO) and its ability to produce high-quality products.

Such evaluation shall be done by representatives of the USSR national certification organ with the participation of the organization specified for conducting the certification testing.

Given a positive evaluation the enterprise shall be registered in a state register maintained by the USSR national certification organ.

At the request of organs monitoring product quality the USSR national certification organ shall carry out an additional on-site evaluation of an enterprise quality control system, and if the results are negative the enterprise shall be removed from the state register.

Article 16. State evaluation of product quality.

1. In order to accelerate the development, production startup and expansion in the manufacture of competitive products a state evaluation shall be made of their quality, confirming that output meets best world levels. Only products that have been certified as being in compliance with state standards and technical specifications can be submitted for state evaluation.

Given positive results from state evaluation of product quality, a certificate of quality shall be issued which is the basis for additional economic incentive from the state to manufacture a product.

2. State quality evaluation shall not be mandatory and shall be carried out at the initiative of the manufacturing enterprise by commissions created under the independent certification centers set up in the USSR for the corresponding kinds of products, and in the event of there being no such centers, under organizations as determined by the USSR national certification organ. The composition of these commissions, which on a

mandatory basis shall include representatives of the main consumers for the corresponding product, shall be approved by the USSR national certification organ.

Manufacturing enterprises shall pay the costs of services to carry out a state quality evaluation and shall also provide free of charge all product materials and models necessary for this.

3. A decision by a manufacturer to submit a product manufactured for state quality evaluation shall be published in the press (with a description of its technical-economic features and consumer attributes) and discussed with interested enterprises and organizations.

Article 17. Product quality monitoring.

1. Product quality monitoring shall be an integral part of the technological process involved in the manufacture of a product. The enterprise shall monitor product quality directly during the course of production.

2. During monitoring operations, product manufacturers and consumers, and also monitoring organs, shall be obligated to comply with standards for the accuracy of measurements determined for any particular kind of product in accordance with general metrological requirements and standards as approved by the state metrology service.

3. The use of measuring equipment and test and diagnostic equipment, and also efficient up-to-date measuring methods to insure the reliability and comparability of results from the monitoring of product quality shall be mandatory for the enterprise during the development, production and use of products.

4. The enterprise shall have the right to produce only products that have been accepted by the quality control service manufactured by particular workers, brigades, sections and shops working under conditions of self-monitoring. The enterprise shall generate a document for this output, certifying that it is in accordance with established requirements.

5. Production subdivisions of the enterprise and its individual workers may with the agreement of the administration switch to work under conditions of self-monitoring, and also set up groups of similar collectives to guarantee the quality of the products that they produce.

The agreement shall provide as follows:

—an obligation on the part of the production subdivision (or individual worker) to produce a high-quality product, and also its (his) right to certify the quality of the product by marking it or by having a certificate of guarantee;

—an obligation on the part of the enterprise administration to create for production subdivisions (or individual workers) organizational and material-technical conditions for work under conditions of self-monitoring with additional wages for doing work connected with the monitoring of intermediate operations and the quality of the final product;

—liability on the part of the administration and the production subdivision (or individual worker) for failure to meet contractual obligations.

6. In the event of violation of technological processes or failure to meet product quality requirements the manager of the enterprise technical control service shall have the right to halt acceptance of products at any stage of production and halt the dispatch of finished products to consumers until the violations and defects found in product quality have been eliminated.

7. In order to protection the interests of the consumer product quality control shall also be done by specially empowered state organs, with their competence determined by the USSR Council of Ministers. These organs shall have the following rights:

—when violations of normative-technical documents are found, to ban the production, sale, transport, storage and use of the product;

—to issue a binding order to halt production of a substandard product until the causes of production of such a product have been determined, and to apply other sanctions as provided for by existing legislation;

—to halt the output of measuring equipment that has failed metrological certification and checks, and to ban its use.

8. At the representation of state organs and giving due consideration to proposals from consumers, at enterprise that fail to insure consistent quality in the most important kinds of national economic products and main subassemblies and materials, and also construction projects, state acceptance of products may be introduced if the USSR Council of Ministers so decides. Leaders of the organs of state acceptance are responsible for the correctness of the decisions they make about product quality in accordance with this law.

9. The enterprise shall have the right to appeal a decision made by organs exercising state control over product quality using the state arbitration facilities.

IV. ENSURING EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE BY THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM ON PRODUCT QUALITY

Article 18. Product quality conditions envisaged in the economic contract.

1. Defining quality requirements shall be an indispensable condition of the economic contract between those involved in the development, production, marketing, transport, storage and use of products. If this condition is not specified the contract shall be deemed not to exist.

Product quality requirements shall be defined in a contract by making reference to standards, construction standards and rules and technical specifications. Additional requirements not provided for in this documentation shall be defined by agreement between the parties.

2. When a contract is concluded for the execution of scientific research work, planning, design and technological work to develop a new product, the client and the developer shall not have the right to provide for the main indicators of very important products determining scientific and technical progress to be lower than the best world achievements.

3. If the consumer so proposes, or with his consent, a contract to supply a product may include higher product quality requirements than those provided for in state standards and technical specifications, and also other product quality requirements not laid down by that normativ-technical documentation.

4. Quality indicators for products earmarked for export shall be defined by proceeding from the requirements of the foreign market, and if necessary the specific consumer with whom the contract to supply that product is concluded.

The conclusion of contracts to import products failing to meet the requirements of the standards in force in the USSR is forbidden.

5. In direct long-term economic ties between consumers and manufacturers contracts may make provision for consistent improvement in product quality taking into account new scientific and technical developments and also experience and prospects for consumer use of a product.

Article 19. Planned guarantees for the development and production of high-quality products.

1. Enterprises shall make provision in plans for economic and social development drawn up independently for measures guaranteeing that consumer requirements for product quality, development, assimilation and preferential development for the production of new highly efficient and competitive goods, work and services and the withdrawal from production of obsolete products, and the development of company trade and the provision of maintenance and repair facilities for products produced shall be met.

When this is done enterprises shall proceed from predictions for consumer demand, scientific and technical achievements, control figures, state orders, resource limits, prices and economic normativs, contracts, and the requirements of standards and technical specifications, and also of the world market.

2. When state orders are drawn up provision shall be made when so required for the development, production startup and expansion and use of new, highly efficient generations of equipment, technologies and materials, deliveries of the most important high-quality products, and the creation for this purpose of new production facilities, the completion of progressive structural advances, the development of company trade and services, and a network of certification testing centers.

Article 20. Product quality and price.

1. Prices (and tariffs) should reflect product quality and be used as an active means for influencing quality improvement.

When improving product quality developers and manufacturers shall be obligated to insure preferential growth in national economic effect compared with costs, the relative cheapness of a new product for the consumer, and the economic soundness of product prices.

As production of a new product expands the prices set centrally for output being produced earlier should be lowered in step with its increasing obsolescence.

At the request of the consumer the price of a new product should be lowered if during its use the level of quality and efficiency adopted when the price was set for the product is not being reached.

2. Exceeding the requirements for quality in development and manufacture (or delivery) of a product for which provision was not made in the contract shall not be grounds for increasing the price of the product.

3. Lack of economic justification by the manufacturer (or supplier) for raising contract prices and prices set independently, and also additions to centrally set prices for products that fail to meet the degree of improvement in quality shall be illegal. These prices and additions shall be rescinded by state pricing organs at their initiative and also at the proposal of consumers and consumer societies (or associations), associations of consumer enterprises and other state and public organizations. When prices are raised the manufacturer (or supplier) shall bear economic responsibility in accordance with existing legislation.

4. Products manufactured that fail to meet the requirements of the technical specifications and/or the contract may be sold by the consumer at a lower price. The amount of the price reduction shall be determined by agreement between the parties.

Article 21. Funding and credit for work to improve product quality.

1. Funding for measures to improve product quality and development and assimilate a new product shall be provided by the enterprise's own resources and also by bank loans.

Consumer enterprises (clients) may on a contractual basis participate by providing funding from their resources to develop, assimilate and expand production of a product that they need.

2. Funding for the development and assimilation of a fundamentally new product developed under state scientific and technical programs and state orders may come from the state budget, centralized funds and the reserves of higher organs. When this is done, centralized funding shall as a rule be allocated on a competitive basis. The rights and obligations of the parties shall be defined by contract.

3. State banks shall on a priority basis and on favorable terms make available loans on a contractual basis for the development and assimilation of new products and for extension of the range and improvements in output being produced, and also for retooling and production reconstruction connected with this.

4. Enterprises engaged in the development and assimilation of production and manufacture of output earmarked for export, and also assimilating the production of essential subassemblies for articles and materials, may be offered foreign currency loans with payback through foreign exchange earnings from export of the production.

The sources to be used to repay loans obtained by suppliers of subassemblies for articles and materials used in the manufacture of a product shall be part of the foreign exchange payments of the exporting enterprise transferred by it to the supplier under the terms of the contract.

5. In order to fund development and production development for high-quality products enjoying great demand, the manufacturing enterprise may issue securities that shall be sold to interested enterprises, and also to members of the labor collective at the manufacturing enterprise.

6. Enterprises involved in retooling and production reconstruction using their own resources and bank loans to produce a new product shall have the right to reduce the periods of service life below the normativs for fixed production capital being replaced and correspondingly to increase amortization payment norms. All increases in these deductions shall be allocated to the fund for the development of production and science and technology or to another fund having similar function.

Article 22. Concessions for payments to the budget and foreign exchange deductions.

1. In the event of assimilation by state enterprises of a new product of very great importance for the national economy a higher organ may establish concession normativs for them for payments for fixed production capital that become effective in order to insure output of that product for a period equal to the normativ period for starting up the appropriate capacities. The increased calculated profit (income) for enterprises, obtained from such concession, shall be distributed according to established economic normativs.

2. For enterprises producing products of a particular quality or certified output for export shall have lower normativs for deductions to the state budget from profit (income) under procedure and in amounts as determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

3. The manufacturer of a new product shall transfer to the product developer part of the assets from additional cost-accounting income obtained from concessions in payments from profit (income) to the state budget. This part of assets shall be determined by the contract between the developer and the manufacturer and shall be transferred throughout the entire period during which these concession are in force.

4. Enterprises manufacturing a new high-quality product for export shall transfer to the developer, and also to the suppliers of new subassemblies for articles and materials, part of the foreign exchange deductions, which shall be calculated in amounts and for periods as determined by contract.

Article 23. Incentive for enterprise workers to improve product quality.

1. Product quality shall be the main criterion for differentiation in wages for enterprise workers.

The size of wages (piece-work rates, salary for post, additional payments, wage normativs per unit of work) should be set as a function of the quality of the product produced. Full wages may be paid only for output (or work completed) in accordance with the requirements established for its quality.

2. With the permission of the labor collective council the enterprise administration shall award workers insuring consistently high product quality the title of "Master of Quality," which should be approved on an annual basis.

Workers awarded the title of "Master of Quality" for 10 years shall receive from enterprise assets an additional payment determined in accordance with existing legislation.

3. Fundamentally new kinds of products and technological processes decisive in scientific and technical progress in the national economy may be named after their developers.

Article 24. Responsibility for the quality of scientific and technical production.

1. In the event that scientific and technical production is not in compliance with a technical order or contract the client shall have the right to demand that the developer eliminate free of charge the defects permitted in fulfillment of the work within an agreed time or to cancel the contract with compensation to him for losses, whichever he prefers. Henceforth, until the defects in the work shall have been eliminated, the client shall have the right to refuse payment for test-and-design work, and if he has already paid, to demand the return of the sum paid under established procedure.

In the event that defects are not eliminated within the time specified the developer shall pay the client a forfeit (fine, penalty) in an amount determined by law or by the contract. Payment of the forfeit (fine, penalty) shall not release the developer from eliminating the defects.

2. The developer shall be responsible for the soundness of calculated savings effect from the production and use of a new product.

If the calculated savings effect from the use of a new product is too high, if the client so demands the developer shall compensate the client for losses incurred. The size of compensation for loss shall be determined by proceeding from the difference between the calculated saving and actual saving but shall not exceed the cost of development.

Article 25. Economic and material responsibility for product quality.

1. Profit obtained by an enterprise from the sale of a substandard product shall, if the state organs monitoring product quality so decide, be withdrawn from budget income. The product shall be removed from the accounting figures of enterprise.

The actions of state organs monitoring product quality may be appealed to state arbitration.

2. If the organ issuing a certificate of compliance or certificate of quality establishes that an enterprise product fails to meet the requirements made of it it shall rescind its decision on the issue of the certificate of compliance or certificate of quality. In this event the enterprise shall lose its right to obtain the concessions associated with the certification of the product as provided for by legislation. It shall also be obligated to pay into the state budget part of the profit derived in connection with the concessions it enjoyed for the time calculated from the day that it was found that the product was failing to meet the necessary requirements.

For incorrect evaluation of product quality during certification the testing centers shall pay into the budget a fine in an amount equal to double the cost of the work to carry out the certification.

3. A state enterprise that systematically produces substandard products leading to the unproductive consumption of manpower and material and financial resources and production unprofitableness may be reorganized or liquidated under the procedure laid down by USSR legislation.

4. Economic responsibility of enterprises as laid down by this law shall also involve grounds for the labor collective council to reach decisions on material responsibility of managers, specialists, employees and workers directly to blame for the failure to comply with product quality requirements.

V. PROTECTION OF CONSUMER RIGHTS.

Article 26. The right to proper quality in a product purchased.

1. The consumer shall have the right to proper quality in a product acquired under the terms of a contract, giving due consideration to its purpose and conditions of purchase.

In the event of violation of this consumer right enterprises and citizens selling a product of substandard quality shall be liable as laid down by legislation.

The state shall promote the development of production that insures that the demands of citizens for products of proper quality are satisfied and shall monitor the quality of products sold to the public and shall pursue, with extensive participation by the public, an active policy aimed at protecting consumer rights.

2. It shall be illegal for any enterprise or citizen to use the advantages of its (his) position in the sphere of production or commercial activity to force a consumer to purchase under the terms of a contract products that are of improper or unnecessary quality.

3. Conditions in a standard or individual contract on product quality that infringe on the rights of the consumer, including conditions that release the manufacturer, seller, supplier, contractor or any other entity offering the product to the consumer from the liability for which provision is made under existing legislation, or that limits that liability, shall be deemed illegal.

Article 27. Consumer Societies.

1. In order to protect their own rights and legitimate interests in insuring proper product quality citizens of USSR may set up consumer societies on a voluntary basis.

Consumer societies shall have the right to join together in associations in rayons, cities, oblasts and autonomous an union republics and throughout the country as a whole.

Consumer societies and consumer associations shall operate in accordance with bylaws adopted by a general meeting of the members of societies or a meeting of proxies of consumer societies, and they may be legal entities. The bylaws of a consumer society that is a legal entity shall be registered in the executive committee of a soviet of people's deputies. A refusal to register bylaws and changes and additions to them may be appealed in the executive committee of a higher soviet of people's deputies or in the courts. The bylaws of associations need not be registered.

Consumer societies and consumer associations shall be independent public organizations carrying on their activity in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

2. Consumer societies and consumer associations shall have the following rights:

—to study the consumer attributes of products and demand for them, and to conduct public opinion polls in order to clarify public opinion about the quality of products being produced;

—to submit goods for expert inspection and testing at state testing centers and other testing centers empowered to conduct such work;

—to participate in the monitoring of compliance with requirements concerning the manufacture and marketing of products that guarantee people's safety and health;

—to inform the public about the consumer attributes of goods and to advertise products that satisfy high quality requirements;

—to draw up recommendations to improve product quality in order to satisfy consumer demand to the fullest extent;

—to submit to organs of state management and enterprises proposals on the implementation of measures to improve product quality, halt production of substandard products, and halt production and withdraw from the market and sale products harmful to people's life and health or causing environmental harm, and also to rescind prices raised by a seller;

—to bring to the courts legal suits on behalf of citizens who have purchased substandard products, and also to submit to the organs of procuracy and organs of state management materials on the liability of entities guilty of producing substandard products;

—to publish bulletins and publicize in the mass media the results of analysis of product quality and public opinion polls, and also recommendations on improvements in product quality and information on the implementation of recommendations by organs of state management and enterprises;

—to hold congresses, conferences and seminars on matters pertaining to the quality of goods and services;

—to cooperate with foreign consumer societies and associations and to take part in the work of international organizations that protect consumer interests.

3. Organs of state authority and management and enterprises and organizations shall consider proposals from consumer societies within specified periods, provide them with information on the results of the consideration, and help in work and in the publication of materials submitted by them.

Article 28. The right to information on product quality.

1. The consumer shall have the right to obtain reliable and adequate information on the quality of products he purchases. With regard to the technical complexity of products, drugs and foodstuffs, and also pesticides, fertilizers and other products that present a danger to people's safety and health, a list of which shall be drawn up under procedure as determined by the USSR Council of Ministers, the information should include methods and rules for use and storage.

2. Information as set forth in Paragraph 1 of this Article shall be made available to the consumer by the seller (or supplier, manufacturer or contractor) in technical documentation accompanying the product, and also by means of labeling and marking of the price, trademark labeling or some other means to show the consumer attributes and quality description as adopted in particular spheres of consumer service.

3. In the event of failure to provide the necessary information about the quality of a product being sold, the following shall ensue:

—in the case of purchase of a product not having the necessary features for the consumer: the consumer shall have the right to cancel a contract and demand compensation from those causing any loss;

—in the case of purchase of a substandard product: the seller (supplier, manufacturer, contractor) shall be liable in accordance with Articles 27, 28 and 29 of this law;

—in the case of it not being possible for a product purchased to be used for the purpose for which it was intended: the consumer shall have the right to demand that this information be made available within a reasonable time. If such information is not made available within a specified time the consumer shall have the right to cancel a contract and demand compensation for loss.

4. The court dealing with a suit involving protection of citizens' rights to information shall proceed from the proposition that the citizen lacks special knowledge about the features and specifications of the product purchased.

Article 29. Rights of the buyer in the case of purchase of a product that fails to meet conditions of a contract with regard to quality.

1. The buyer of a product that fails to meet the conditions of a contract shall have the right for general or specified periods as established by legislation, state standards, technical specifications or contract, counted from the day of the purchase of a product from a seller (or supplier) to replacement with a product of the same quality or a commensurate reduction in the purchase price, or gratis elimination of defects in the product or cancellation of the contract with compensation for loss to the buyer, whichever the buyer so decides.

The parties may set guarantee periods in the contract that are longer than the periods provided for by legislation, state standards or technical specifications.

For a product for which general periods are established for any claim, the buyer shall have the right to eliminate defects using his own assets and to demand compensation for such expenditure from the seller.

Pending replacement of a product or elimination of defects in it the buyer shall have the right to refuse payment, and if the product has already been paid for, to demand in specified cases the return of any sum paid.

Citizens shall exercise the right provided for by this Article through the organization of the seller at the place where the product was purchased or at the buyer's place of residence if the purchase was made outside the populated point where he lives.

2. The demands of a buyer who has acquired through the retail trade network a product that is technically complex to have it replaced or to cancel the contract and receive compensation for loss shall be binding if the defects in the product make it impossible to use it for the purpose for which it was intended or if those defects cannot be eliminated within a specified period in a guarantee workshop where the seller holds such products.

Here, the total period for carrying out appropriate work to repair the product (one or several repairs) should not exceed 20 days from the time that the seller is first notified. During the time that the product is being repaired, if the buyer so demands the guarantee workshop shall provide (and deliver to the consumer) a similar product, and if this demand is not met, shall each day pay a forfeit (fine, penalty) in an amount as determined by the union republic councils of ministries.

Delivery of a product being repaired in a guarantee workshop and its return to the consumer shall be done using the means and facilities of that workshop.

Guarantee periods for the operation of a product in which defects have been eliminated shall last for the same length of time during which the product could not be used by the buyer.

A list of technically complex products shall be drawn up by the USSR Council of Ministers.

3. The rights of the buyer set forth in this Article shall not be valid if it is shown that the defects in the product were caused by the buyer himself

4. Rules for the replacement of goods purchased in retail trade shall be confirmed by the union republic councils of ministries. When this is done the norms for those rules shall not limit consumer rights as compared to those provided for in this law.

Article 30. Rights of the client in the event of violation of quality conditions in contracts to carry out work or provide services.

1. If during the carrying out of work or provision of services it becomes clear that they will not be completed in a proper fashion, the client shall have the right to designate for the contractor (or other entity providing the services) a reasonable period to eliminate defects, and in the event that this is not done, to demand cancellation of the contract within a specified period and to demand compensation for loss or to assign correction of the defects to the third party at the cost of the contractor (or other entity providing the services).

2. If the contractor (or other entity providing the services) had permitted work to be done that falls below the standard specified by contract or other defects in the work (or service), the client shall have the right to demand gratis correction of those defects within a reasonable period or compensation for expenses incurred to correct the defects at his own cost, whichever he chooses, and if the contract so provides, the right to reduce payment for work (or services) by a corresponding amount.

If the defects are not eliminated within the period specified the contractor (or other entity providing the service) shall pay the client a forfeit (fine, penalty) in an amount as determined by legislation or by the contract. The forfeit (fine, penalty) paid shall not be part of the value of any compensation paid for loss.

3. If significant deviation from the contract occurs in work (or services) or there are other significant defects, the client shall have the right to demand cancellation of the contract and compensation for loss. Special features in the application of this rule in a contract for capital construction shall be determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

If significant deviations from the contract or other significant defects have been found in a product manufactured from the client's materials, under the terms of a household contract the client shall have the right to demand either the manufacture of another product from the same material of the same quality or cancellation of the contract and compensation for loss, whichever he chooses.

4. A contractor (or other entity providing services) shall not be liable for substandard quality in work completed or services rendered if it shall be shown that the client was to blame for its occurrence. Under the terms of a contract for capital construction the contractor shall be liable for substandard work occur only it he is to blame for it.

5. The client is obligated to report to the contractor immediately any deviations from the conditions of the contract or other defects found in the work that could not have been found by any normal method.

6. The rights of the client as provided for by this Article may be exercised within the periods established by legislation of the USSR and union republics.

Article 31. Obligations of the manufacturer in respect of product labeling.

1. A product produced by an enterprise should have production labeling and a properly registered trademark except in cases as provided for by legislation of the USSR.

2. Product labeling shall include the name and address of the manufacturer and a reference to the state standard or technical specification according to which the product was made.

3. A product manufactured by a citizen as part of individual labor activity should bear a label indicating the patent number (or authorization number), and also the state standard whose quality requirements that product should meet.

4. An enterprise or citizen violating labeling requirements when marketing a product shall pay to the local budget a fine in an amount as determined by legislation of the USSR and union republics.

5. An enterprise or citizen manufacturing a product or providing services has exclusive right to the registered trademark.

An entity using a trademark without authorization of the enterprise or citizen in whose name it is registered is obligated to provide compensation for loss in accordance with existing legislation.

Article 32. The right to safety and health.

1. Citizens shall have the right to a guarantee that drugs, cosmetics, food products, construction installations, electric power and other products manufactured and passed on to them for use observing the necessary medical, sanitation, hygiene, technical and other requirements shall guarantee safety and health and exclude inevitable or unjustified risk of death, sickness or injury.

2. A product shall be deemed dangerous if it fails to guarantee that level of safety and health that people have the right to expect, giving due consideration to all circumstances in its purchase and use.

Declaration of a product as dangerous to safety and health shall be done by the USSR Council of Ministers Standing Interdepartmental Commission for Product Safety, in whose work representatives of consumer societies (as associations) shall participate.

A product dangerous to safety and health shall be withdrawn from production and from circulation in accordance with procedure laid down by the USSR Council of Ministers.

3. Enterprises and citizens shall be liable as established by law for the sale of a product dangerous to safety and health.

No grounds exist for release of these entities from liability from making reference to the fact that at the time that a product was manufactured or passed on to citizens for use the level of scientific and technical knowledge did not permit detection of properties of a product presenting a danger to life and health.

In the event that a product is manufactured that is dangerous to life and health, in addition to the developer and the manufacturer, the testing center shall also be liable if it unjustifiably issued a certificate of compliance, or the state organ if it approved a state standard (or construction standards and rules) whose requirements fail to insure the proper level of safety for life and health as provided by international standards, and also public health organs that agree to the approval of such requirements.

Article 33. Liability as to property for damages caused by a substandard product.

1. Damages to the person or property of a citizen by a product containing design, prescription or production defects shall be fully compensated by the entity causing such damages if legislation of the USSR and union republics does not make provision for a higher level of liability.

2. The right to demand compensation for damages shall be recognized for any citizen suffering damages regardless of whether or not he is in contractual relationship with the entity causing the damages.

3. The entity causing the damages shall be the seller of the product causing the damages and the manufacturer of such product that is not the seller.

4. Liability for damages caused by a substandard product to the person or property of a citizen shall ensue regardless of blame on the part of the entity causing the damages.

5. When issuing a ruling on compensation for damages caused by a substandard product, the court shall order the withdrawal from circulation and use of all batches of the product containing the design, prescription or production defects associated with the article causing the damages, and also compensation from the manufacturer for loss sustained by citizens in connection with the purchase of such production.

6. Compensation shall be paid for damages caused to the person or property of a citizen if they occur during the service life of a product as provided for in state standards and technical specifications, or, if no such provision has been made, for 10 years from the time of manufacture of the product.

7. Liability for damages caused to the person or property of a citizen connected with the use of atomic energy, and also with failure to observe the rules for environmental protection, shall be regulated by special legislation.

Article 34. Legal protection for citizens' rights in the case of purchase of a substandard product.

In the case of refusal to satisfy voluntarily citizens' demands as set forth in Articles 27 and 28 of this law, the dispute shall be settled by the courts.

When satisfying citizens' demands based on these Articles, the court shall in addition issue rulings on additional payment to a citizen of part of the cost of the product purchased in an amount determined by the court but not exceeding the retail price of the product.

Article 35. Guarantees for observance of the rights of enterprises and citizens.

Organs of state authority and management shall be responsible for observance of the provisions of the Law on Product Quality and Protection of Consumer Rights by adopting normativ documents dealing with the practical implementation of this law, and shall build their relations with enterprises and citizens strictly in accordance with this this Law.

Article 36. Special features in the application of this law.

The USSR Council of Ministers may establish special features for the application of this law (that are not at variance with its provisions) for particular kinds of products, work and services, and also for particular kinds of contracts.

Polish Paper Interviews 'Sajudis' Leader

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[Interview with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the assembly of the Lithuanian 'Sajudis' restructuring movement, by Marek J. Karp: "We Want Even More, And We Want It Even More Quickly"; in Warsaw, date not given]

[Text] I had the honor of hosting Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Lithuanian Sajudis. The rallies organized by this movement since July 1988 are attracting the same amount of world attention as our "Solidarity" did years ago; perhaps even more attention, because attempts to reform the system in the Baltic republics is an experiment that will determine the chances for perestroyka.

The chairman of the Sajudis assembly arrived in Warsaw on the evening of 9 December, and left on the morning of 11 December. He sacrificed his sleep in order to let me interview him. We commenced our interview at around midnight. It was already dawn when I took the professor back to his hotel. My guest still had a meeting ahead of him, and wondered how he would get to the railroad station on time. It was a great surprise for me when, saying goodbye to each other, he let me publish the interview without his prior approval. "You will have to print all my errors as well," said the professor, worn out by 24 hours of talks and speeches. "Of course," I replied automatically, stunned by the decision, so untypical of the deeply-rooted stereotype of a "distrustful Lithuanian."

Marek J. Karp: What social strata form the core of your movement? Do they include many party people? Are you yourself a member of the Communist Party?

Vytautas Landsbergis: I am not and I have never been a party member, but there are many party members in our movement, even in the founding body. The movement was formed by progressive intelligentsia circles, especially intellectuals, and reformist party circles.

[Karp] That reminds me of the symbolic years of 1956 and 1968.

[Landsbergis] We consist mainly of urban residents. The intermediate-level party apparatus, the bureaucratic "new class," is opposed to perestroyka. Gorbachev said this to the inhabitants of Krasnodar years ago, calling on them to support his activity at the top by means of a revolution at the bottom.

[Karp] How many people belong to Sajudis?

[Landsbergis] I might give the wrong number. I think it is between 100,000 and 500,000. We have not instituted formal membership yet. We did not want to create a new bureaucratic structure. We were dependent on social initiative. We are only now beginning to register all our adherents. We were obliged to make this decision in case

we become subject to provocation or are accused of actions that are hostile to our program and our methods of struggling for the goals therein. We must have the possibility of dissociating ourselves from actions that are contrary to our intentions. The firm majority of society supports us in many issues. For example, in 1 week we collected 1.8 million signatures as a protest against changes to the Constitution. We had to charter an entire railroad car in order to deliver these signatures to the Kremlin, there were so many sacks of signatures.

[Karp] That is the entire adult population of Lithuania. Please describe the most important principles of your program.

[Landsbergis] The most important goal is to achieve Lithuania's sovereignty, which does not mean an automatic break with the Soviet Union. The countries of Western Europe are forming themselves into communities more and more. It is possible to transform the USSR into a community voluntarily adopted by us. In the preamble to our program, we placed a dot over the "i" and condemned the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pacts as unlawful. That is also our opinion of all the consequences of these pacts. We believe that the basis of Lithuania's sovereignty is its own economy. Our economy should be a separate organism, completely separate from the center; an economy that is self-supporting. Trade should be honest, and controlled by voluntary agreements concluded in accordance with market mechanisms.

[Karp] Is that possible?

[Landsbergis] It must be. The economic machinery is already stuck in a quagmire, and only a thorough restructuring will extricate it. A mere coat of paint will not suffice. These reforms do not weaken the Soviet Union, but provide it with energy. They only weaken the central bureaucracy. We attach great importance to protecting the environment, which is in a really disastrous condition. "Lithuania, you are my health," is what we should say. We also want to raise the status of the Lithuanian language and culture in our republic.

[Karp] however, I read in the November issue of ATGIMIMAS, your central newspaper, that introducing Lithuanian as a state language has lost its glamour, now that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has rejected the amendments to the Lithuanian Constitution that were meant to guarantee greater sovereignty.

[Landsbergis] Of course, legal and economic independence are the prerequisites for real sovereignty. Everything else is just gestures. We also insist that the Catholic Church should assume its rightful place in social life and regain its property and internal autonomy. It is thanks to our efforts that Vilnius cathedral and the shrine of St. Casimir were given back to the Catholics.

[Karp] Is there a broad coalition of oppositional and independent milieus centered on the church like there is in Poland?

[Landsbergis] The church is a major moral and national force. In the 1940's and 1950's, and at the beginning of the century, it was the sole pillar of Lithuanian dignity. But there is no question of a coalition centered on the church. The church goes with us, not we with the church. Our roots are different. Sajudis is a secular and liberal movement. We refer to the traditions of VARPAS, the liberal 19th century journal. In the Lithuanian traditional anthem, there is no concept of God, for this is a song for everyone. Between the wars, clerics tried to introduce the word "God" to this anthem several times, but they never succeeded. We support and will continue to support the demands of believers. They constitute the majority of the people, and their right to religious freedom is an inseparable part of the democratic process. I mean human and civil rights. We are struggling for a full implementation of these rights, as well as the right to associate and undertake free publishing and cultural activity. We are protesting against the state's efforts to propagate atheism. We consider this to be particularly apprehensible because for this purpose, the state is using funds earned by believers, and we have said so in our program. We protest against efforts to impose on children a world outlook that clashes with their parents' convictions. We have the moral support of Cardinal Sladkevicius, who once said: We thought we were the last, but the nation is alive after all!

[Karp] When you talk of Lithuania's sovereignty, do you mean separate citizenship, a separate currency, a separate army?

[Landsbergis] At present we are not calling for a separate currency, although we do foresee such a possibility in our program. Separate citizenship has already been introduced. We also see the need for Lithuanian authorities to control the flow of manpower to enterprises on Lithuanian soil. We would like all Lithuanian citizens—Lithuanians, Russians, and Poles—to be able to undergo the civic duty of military service in their own country, unless of course they themselves apply to be posted somewhere else, for example to special units, training establishments, and services.

[Karp] Has the blood of your boys spilled in Afghanistan not encouraged such a postulate?

[Landsbergis] Yes, but not only that. We are also afraid of the moral corruption to which young Lithuanians are succumbing (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the control of publications and spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, Item 204).

[Karp] Hearing your program, I wonder how it is going to be implemented.

[Landsbergis] We reject coups, force, and mass disobedience. We are a legal movement. According to the old constitution, our only duty was to report our intentions to hold a rally. Sometimes we were summoned and told that that was not the right place and not the right time. Our discussions and conferences should not be secret. We are officially and openly active. Therein lies our strength.

[Karp] Can one rule out police attacks on your legal rallies? After all, the police broke up a Belorussian demonstration on 30 October. Before that, the entire press and official circles had condemned the Stalinist atrocity that was revealed when the graves in Kurapaty were discovered. All young Belorussians wanted to do was honor the memory of the 100,000-plus people who were murdered there.

[Landsbergis] Nothing like that has happened in Lithuania yet. It all depends on the relations between our movement and the authorities, and on the general situation in the USSR. The new Constitution foresees the possibility of a state of emergency. Possibility does not mean certainty.

[Karp] You have referred to liberal thinking, even though this stream contains the concept of "civil disobedience."

[Landsbergis] Yes, one has to admit that we do resort to such measures sometimes. At our 9 July rally, we declared a boycott on TIESA (the Lithuanian PRAVDA). People generally stopped buying the paper. Even the kiosk operators warned their customers that "this paper should not be bought." Several weeks later, the editor in chief was removed. His successor stopped printing tendentious "letters from enraged readers." Now the "Greens" have declared a boycott on milk and milk products, as well as on contaminated fruit. Over half the cattle population should be slaughtered because it is sick and infecting customers.

[Karp] In Lithuania, which is famous for its agriculture? Incredible!

[Landsbergis] The official press has started to accuse us of demagogically hiding behind the screen of perestroyka, especially since the demonstration against the supreme soviet deputies, who rejected the constitutional amendment. However, it is we who are trying to implement Gorbachev's ideas. It is not we who are opposed to the party, but egoistic groups of conservatives inside the bureaucracy.

[Karp] Do they consider your movement to be a continuation of "dissidence"?

[Landsbergis] No! That is a completely different stage, involving different political divisions. The idea of restructuring was formulated officially, at the top. We are its supporters. We represent the aims of the overwhelming majority of the people. Dissidents were lone wolves. That is also a fundamental difference.

[Karp] You act by means of mass functions and the press. Please describe your activity.

[Landsbergis] We also use television. We have 2 hours of air time in a weekly program, usually broadcast live. Our congress was also broadcast for 2 days, without any cuts. Of course, following the conflict over the constitutional amendments, some of our air time was taken away from us. Nevertheless, in the face of general symptoms among the profession (for example, "perestroyka has finished"), they reverted to the well-worn custom. [sentence as published]. Our press is legal, and is not subject to censorship. At least it has not been subject to censorship so far, but now they are beginning to talk about it. Sajudis' central organ is ATGIMIMAS (REBIRTH). We started with a circulation of 10,000, but today we print 100,000 copies of the Lithuanian version, and 20,000 copies of the Russian version. Local Sajudis councils produce their own papers, for example KAUNO AIDAS (KAUNAS ECHO); the SAJUDZIO ZINIOS (SAJUDIS NEWS) of Vilnius; and ZIEMIA TROCKA. Of course we have difficulties with printing, but we have always overcome them somehow.

[Karp] In the space of a few months, ATGIMIMAS attained a higher circulation than our TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. I am ashamed to admit it, but I envy you. You are therefore what we would call a "self-contained revolution." What are the limits which Sajudis will never exceed?

[Landsbergis] We are accused of wanting too much and too quickly That is not true. We want even more, and we want it even more quickly! Our limits are: No acts of violence, a wariness of provocateurs, and activity that is always open and always in accordance with the law. We believe that steady mass pressure and the will of society will prove effective.

[Karp] Do you think the Lithuanians have betrayed the Estonians?

[Landsbergis] Lithuanians fully support Estonia and its Supreme Soviet. We have conveyed such declarations to them and printed them in our press. Only the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet failed to adopt amendments to the Lithuanian Constitution, or, to be more exact, it violated formal procedures and failed to vote on them. We wanted the adoption of the principle that USSR laws are only valid if they conform to the Lithuanian Constitution. The crowds gathered outside the Supreme Soviet building swore at the deputies and accused them of treason. The Sajudis delegation left the talks earlier in protest. (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, Item 204).

[Karp] You mentioned a boycott of agricultural produce. So let us discuss the situation in the Lithuanian countryside.

[Landsbergis] We think it is absolutely necessary to reorganize relations in the countryside! The local authorities have complete power with respect to collective farmers. Local functionaries can refuse requests for feeds and even refuse someone permission to sell a pig that they have reared.

[Karp] I could not believe what a Soviet college professor told me about the chairman of a collective farm in Belorussia imposing fines on anyone caught speaking Lithuanian.

[Landsbergis] You have to bear in mind the tragic experiences of the rural population during collectivization and the partisan war. The Lithuanian countryside is in a state of profound depression, which manifests itself in, among other things, widespread alcoholism. To see how senseless their work is, that is, to be aware of the hopelessness of their existence, to watch land being destroyed through excessive use, is something that farmers find unbearable. The educated person can always find something useful to do, but the peasant cannot.

[Karp] I have even heard that the peasants in Lithuania have displayed little enthusiasm for taking over the land that has been offered them. There appears to be no sign of a strong desire to have land of one's own, not even of the kind of mood that there was in the Polish countryside following October [1956], or in China a few years ago.

[Landsbergis] That is true. I know of isolated cases of large, even 100 hectare holdings being created. However, even families as determined as that cannot be sure about what tomorrow will bring. The specter of deportations to Siberia is still very much alive in our peasants' memories.

[Karp] The Polish October resulted in collective farms being dissolved en masse and, at the same time, the rehabilitation of members of the Home Army. Are there any signs that the partisan movement will be assessed in a new way in Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] During the discussion on the drawing up of the 'Sajudis' program, it was suggested that the partisan movement be called a national liberation formation. This idea has just started to evolve. However, it should not be forgotten that with time these forest units often turned into nothing more than groups of bandits. The war began to turn into a civil war, and then into a vendetta, a feud between families. People remember a very great number of instances of cruelty for which there can be no justification. Today, now that the whole truth is beginning to be written, it has proved to be impossible to uphold the thesis that the pro-Soviet side had the sole monopoly on idealistic heroism. It is indicative that songs about the "forest brothers" are sung, but none are sung about those who died defending Soviet power.

[Karp] Let us talk about Polish - Lithuanian relations. We hear an increasing number of reports about anti-Polish incidents in Lithuania. I understand that your countrymen have been pelting the monument to Adam Mickiewicz with eggs, and that someone painted a slogan on the walls of Vilnius cathedral dispatching the Jews to Israel, the Russians to Russia, and the Poles to the crematorium.

[Landsbergis] I do not know anything about the incident concerning the monument to Mickiewicz [Polish national poet born in Lithuania in 1798]. We consider him to be a countryman of ours as well, so why should we slander his memory. However, the contemptible slogan that you mentioned really did appear, but on a banner at a rally and not on the walls of the cathedral. It did not last long. As soon as people had read the wording on the banner that was being held above them, they tore it down and destroyed it. There is no doubt that this was a provocation. I am surprised that Poles do not realize this. Your press notes these facts diligently, but it is a pity that it does not look for the real culprits. We Lithuanians are very upset by the unjust charges that are leveled at our movement. And so, we might find ourselves back where we started! That is what these provocateurs want to see happen. It is difficult for you to see what is really happening in Lithuania when the real picture is blurred by reports of this kind.

[Karp] What is Sajudis' attitude toward national minorities in Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] The Sajudis program accords a lot of attention to minorities. We recognize that a minority has the right to its own language and its own national identity. We would like to assist minorities, especially Poles, in maintaining their own culture. We believe that minorities should have their own schools or classes in their own language and their own associations. We believe that members of national minorities should have an opportunity to learn the Lithuanian language, which would make it easier for them to fully participate in public life in the republic and to enter higher education. Minority communities should recognize the territorial integrity of the Lithuanian Republic. Sajudis believes that national minorities have a right to bring up children in the spirit of their own traditions and national values. They are citizens of Lithuania, and for that reason alone, we have a duty to make it easier for them to achieve all these things. Today Lithuanian Poles do not even want to read the Lithuanian press. Your countrymen wait for Polish translations.

[Karp] I do not think that you can consider this to be evidence of some kind of attitude of contempt and indifference. Perhaps Poles living in Lithuania (and they mainly live in the countryside) are just not accustomed to reading newspapers. Perhaps reading is simply not a basic need of theirs, regardless of the language. Is it true

that Poles as a rule sympathize with the socialist Jedinstwo [Russian word used] movement, the local Russian community's organization? Does this confirm the view that there is a trend toward Russification among Poles living in Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] The Poles have many problems. Jedinstwo, which is an artificial political creation, has borrowed most of its slogans from Sajudis. I think that Polish workers sympathize with the Jedinstwo not for internationalist reasons, but because of an inherited fear of the Lithuanians. It would be a grave political mistake if the majority of Poles living in Lithuania were to enter the ranks of the Jedinstwo movement. It would revive Polish-Lithuanian antagonism and would ultimately accelerate Russification processes within the Polish community.

[Karp] Did the beatification of Bishop Matulewicz not provide a good opportunity for eradicating some of these old feelings of antagonism? Could Bishop Matulewicz become the patron of some modern-day Polish-Lithuanian reconciliation?

[Landsbergis] Yes, but he is not that well known in Lithuania. It is quite difficult for priests and scholars to enter our "national Paranassus." Artists and writers find it much easier. So, it is hard to make any predictions. Perhaps the process of social "beatification" has already begun. I recently attend an event to commemorate Matulewicz in Vilnius. I heard a very interesting historical report. However, I was already familiar with Father Gorski's work about the bishop so it is not surprising that I went along.

[Karp] How do your countrymen view us?

[Landbergis] National mythology always weighs heavily on our assessment. Besides, this is the case on both sides. To put it in general terms, we are mistrustful. We wonder why you have this "cult" of Lithuania, and of Vilnius in particular. What is the significance of the pictures seen in Polish homes of the icon of the Virgin Mary that appears over the gate in Vilnius? What is it that the commemorative plaques for the Vilnius Home Army that are seen in Warsaw churches warn us about? Do you realize that the partisans that you hold in such high esteem left a bad impression on the Lithuanians?

[Karp] What would you like to protest before an audience of Polish readers?

[Landsbergis] I do not want to be treated like a Russian in Poland, because of my passport. You do not react very kindly when I introduce myself as a Lithuanian. I often hear it said that a Lithuanian and a Pole are one and the same thing. When that happens, I usually reply: It is nice meeting a fellow Lithuanian. However, when I put things this way, whomever I am speaking to then firmly rejects the idea that a Pole is a Lithuanian. I also feel obliged to protest the patronizing way in which Lithuanians are treated, the feeling of superiority that is displayed toward us—the Lithuanian viewed as a strong and noble, but somewhat stupid Rumplestiltskin. You no doubt know the saying about an inhabitant of Samogitia [historic area of Lithuania] being bitten by an insect and the insect dying.

[Karp] I understood it differently. I though it was an affirmation of the "strength" of the Samogitian. This serves as a fine illustration of how we have inherited different ways of seeing things. What do you expect from the Poles? How can we help you?

[Landbergis] I would like you to look at our country in a more up-to-date way. I would like you to explain to your countrymen living in Lithuania that Lithuania's culture and past merits respect, as is the case with the culture and past of every people. Recently, a couple of young Poles in Vileyka desecrated and burnt a Lithuanian flag, that is, the traditional flag that has been restored. They felt that they were behaving correctly, acting in the interest of Polish patriotism. They will no doubt be punished for desecrating a national symbol. Antagonism will be stirred up again. I think that this is precisely the kind of field in which you could do something that would benefit both peoples.

[Karp] Does Poland have any kind of special significance for the Lithuanians? There is no need to tell anyone that Lithuanian occupies an extraordinary place in Polish hearts.

[Landsbergis] Of course, Poland is one of our neighbors. We do not have a border with any other state. You are also of special importance to us for historical reasons, although those are somewhat ambivalent. For me and for my colleagues, Poland has been a window onto the rest of the world. We find books in your country that tell us about what is going on in Europe. In your country we can go to exhibitions, attend concerts, discover new music and read foreign publications. The Poles could also inform Europe about us and our problems. You could write about and analyze our situation.

[Karp] Mr Chairman, I would like to thank you for this interview, and for your time and trouble. I am pleased that we could speak to each other in Polish, and it embarrasses me not to be able to repay the compliment by speaking to you in Lithuanian.

Lithuanian CC Proposals on International Relations

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[Lead article entitled: "Proposals by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party to the CC CPSU Plenum "On Improvement of International Relations in USSR."]

[Text]**These proposals have been prepared by the Commission set up by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party Bureau. They are based upon**

proposals gathered from various strata of society and have been been discussed with representatives of Party committees of the largest enterprises, intelligentsia from the fields of arts and and sciences, informal movements, ethnic minorities, and youth.

In adopting the special resolution on "International Relations," The 19th union party conference opened up a new era during the restructuring period, in the life of the Soviet Union nations, in the development of national relations, and in the area of theoretical and practical substantiation of national policy. Decisions made at the conference contributed to the democratization of international relations in the Republic, and the strengthening of national consciousness among the Lithuanian nation and national groups residing within the Lithuanian SSR. Thanks to efforts by party organs and the public, many of the Lithuanian national treasures and historically symbolic objects, which have been undeservedly forgotten in the past, have been returned to public life. State Language status has been granted to the Lithuanian language. National cultural associations have been established within the Republic Culture Fund, for Russian, Polish, Jewish, Karaim, and other national groups.

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party proposes that the Leninist interpretation of a soviet federation should, first of all, be rekindled, within CC CPSU documents on national affairs, allowing its present content and basic principles to be reflected there.

It is necessary to clearly denote, within the USSR Constitution, the concept of the USSR itself and its component and functional principles—to separate the union republic status as sovereign socialist states, which had voluntarily and on a contractual basis joined a union of states, from all autonomous derivative forms of a separate union republic status—and to define a union republic as a sovereign state concept, and the concepts of region, area or district, without ambiguity. The lumping together of these concepts not only creates terminological chaos, but it is also basically erroneous, as well as politically inexcusable, because it oversimplifies the concept of what a socialist state connotes, decreases the sovereignty of socialist nations, and undermines their statehood.

A renewal (novation) of the agreement on the SSR Union should be the principal step toward the return to the Leninist concept of a soviet federation, which, in this instance, would become a basis, in principle, of the new law governing international relations within the Soviet Union.

A clear and just delimitation of relations among the USSR and the union republics, based on harmony and clearly denoting special USSR competency, as well as union republic special competency limitations, must be established. Only under special circumstances should questions be referred to their mutual competency. Fundamental legal principles, for both the laws of USSR and the union republics, must solely outline the principles, and determine common principles for appropriate legal areas.

The CC of the Lithuanian Communist Party considers it necessary to establish legal guarantees, so that questions which concern the Republic's interests may not be deliberated without its consent. Corresponding law drafts must be drawn up on a parity basis, only with the participation of representatives of all union republics.

The people of the republic, especially those within its active segment, namely the intelligentsia, youth, and informal movements groups, are insistently raising the question of the necessity to discuss and ratify a new constitution without delay, which would bring about real sovereignty and economic independence within the Lithuanian SSR. This position is supported by the main sector of the republic party organization.

A proposal has also been made to form a USSR Constitution based on the fundamental laws of union republics. Such a relationship between the constitutions should become the basis for a USSR Constitution as it was understood by Lenin.

It is imperative to return to Leninist principles for forming union administrative organs, while setting in accord relations between the center and the union republics. All union republics must be represented there. USSR party and state organ standard acts, decrees and resolutions, should only determine the general directions and tasks common to all republics. Their disposition and methods shoud be left to republic competence, with special attention to local characteristics and traditions.

Union republic citizenship rights should be expanded. For this reason, it is essential to adopt laws on republic citizenship which would regulate questions dealing with granting, as well as removing, citizenship, (remembering) that certain questions on the citizenship status of citizens in union republics are stipulated by the republic's historical traditions and other specifics. Concurrently, republic citizenship should not be contrary to USSR citizenship and harmful to the principles of equality found in USSR citizenship.

It is necessary to augment the role and define the functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities. The activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities needs to be improved with respect to guaranteeing that the constitutional principle of equality among union republics will be attained (Article 70 of the USSR Constitution). The requirement for equal representation in the Soviet of Nationalities for all federal subjects in posession of equal rights stems from this principle, and is not currently guaranteed by the existing laws. A proposal has been made in the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities to establish true equality of union republics, as equal federal subjects, and to denote the Soviet of Nationalities as a representative organ of the union

republics only. Each one should be represented, in this organization, by an equal number of deputies. As far as the autonomous territories are concerned, it is proposed that their representation in the Soviet of Nationalities be resolved according to the number of deputy slots alloted by the union republic in which these autonomous territories are located.

Another variant in guaranteeing union republic equality in the Soviet of Nationalities, under the present system for autonomous territory representation, would be a statute prohibiting, in principle, majority voting. Under such circumstamces, there may be voting and counting of votes according to [the size of] union republic delegations. Final voting results may be decided according to the number of union republics which had voted in favor, or against, the draft adoption. The following are also possible variants: adoption of a procedure which provides for ratification by union republics of USSR laws, or guaranteeing union republics the right to "veto" in the Soviet of Nationalities.

Permanent commissions on international relations questions may be established under the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets for practical deliberation of international relations questions. They are established in the event national groups are to be found within the territory of the republic, the makeup of the population is multinational, international relations have become complicated, or representatives of such groups are requesting this.

Harmonization of international relations, observance of laws regarding nationalities, and satisfaction of social, cultural and national needs must become the tasks and basic objectives of such commissions.

The development of union republic political sovereignty dictates that their rights be defined and expanded within the area of USSR foreign affairs activities. It would become expedient to grant union republics the right to freely develop direct foreign relations in economic, cultural, scientific, and sports areas, and to open consulates in countries which have many of the republic's countrymen residing there; these would be individuals with whom the republic has common practical or other interests. Participation by republic citizens in non-governmental organizations should be expanded and efforts should be made to enable them to join the UN and other international organizations.

Improvement of scientific research organization dictates the necessity for augmenting the independence of republican academies of sciences functions and to democratize their relations with the USSR Academy of Sciences. We believe there exists sufficient reason for a decision to transfer to the republic councils of ministers the function of conducting budget, financing and prospecting operations on their own, and to effectively bring about the necessary structural and organizational changes within the academic institution system. Union republic academies of sciences should be granted greater authority in the resolution of cadres questions and the actualization of scientific international relations both along the USSR Academy of Sciences line as well as in their own research. It would be expedient to grant both the republic academies of sciences and the republic institutions of higher learning the right to confer academic degrees and titles.

The entire system of national education, in general, should be restructured. It should be comprised of members from all educational areas of the union, as well as from autonomous republics and krays. It is necessary to lay aside education centralization and unified principles that ignore the actual historical traditions of national cultures and their specific public needs. Only general pedagogical, cultural and sociological principles of the new educational system should be centrally established for the USSR, while the union republics should be given the right to formulate their educational policy independently—to determine the structure of all segments of national education, their duration, educational content, internal structure and the preparation of educational programs and textbooks.

National ministries (or committees) of culture must operate independently, while the union committee must only coordinate their work.

Special attention is demanded to secure a more thorough theoretical investigation of all problems that exist in the international relations area. A model for scientific restructuring of international relations must be prepared, first of all. Vital concerns of the working masses and the real needs of all nations of our country (even the smallest) for historic progress must become the most important criteria for such restructuring.

A thorough analysis of theoretical questions relating to international relations evolution, under conditions of the transfer from an authoritarian-administrative to a humanist and democratic socialism, is most important in setting up such a model; also important is a future prognosis of the nature of international relations within the multinational Soviet Union, under those conditions.

In order to prepare a scientifically sound party and union nationality policy, and to accomplish comprehensive ethnological and sociological research, it would be expedient to establish a union national relations institute within the USSR Academy of Sciences, with corresponding research centers (institutes) in the union republics, while a section for international relations should be located within the institutes of party history of the union republic Communist Party central committees. It would be necessary to publish a union periodical dealing with nationalities relations.

It is important to improve television and radio programming and the work of publications on national problems in order to objectively portray public processes that are taking place within republics. Wider distribution of

union mass information means must be made available to party and government leaders, and to scientists and arts intelligentsia representatives of these republics.

It is expedient to start a lecture page in the central press (PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and others) which would be written by union republic authors. This would enable union readers to become better informed about the processes taking place within the republics, and would no longer arouse citizens' ire for of "lack of objectivity" in central press publications. At the same time, the press organ would have the right to express its opinion and comment on the events taking place in one republic or another. Central Television should feature a daily, 10-15 minute broadcast (perhaps within the "Time" [Vremya] Program), presented by republic television reporters.

It is important that the plenum documents on the development of socialist nations, and on the history of the founding of the USSR, should stress the contractual principles at the initial stage of this founding, while the special nature of the Baltic States' entrance into this union should be objectively detailed therein. Since the ideogical situation in the republic is greatly affected by various foreign policy political acts perpetrated by Stalin and Molotov during 1939-41, a fundamental party evaluation should be made known by a Central Committee CPSU decree on treaties concluded during that period with Germany and the Baltic States, including Lithuania. The existence of a realistic policy and substantiation of scientific research must needs involve access, at the Party History Institute of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, to archival materials relating to events of this time period.

The question of juridical guarantees for all national groups and possibilities for fulfilling their national and cultural needs should be decided without delay.

It is necessary to affirm that the juridical responsibility for national groups residing within republic territory, their cultural development, and the preservation of their individuality rests with the union republic governmment, while the moral responsibility for all these rests with the nation for which the republic was named.

It would be expedient to consolidate the equal rights of all nations and nationalities residing within the territory of the Soviet Union by means of a USSR law on nationalities, which must provide guarantees in order to fulfill the Constitutional statute pertaining to equality among all national and social areas of life, and in order to guard the special right to maintain and develop their language and culture among those members of the population who comprise scattered minority groups. Such a statute would also provide for general principles on freedom in the development and use of USSR nationality languages. However, the details relating to these questions must be worked out by the union republics, with due consideration for specific conditions of national development. For this reason there is no need to prepare and adopt a USSR statute to ensure free development and equal and just use of USSR nationality languages.

Following the adoption of a law concerning nationalities, there would a legal basis for fixing the responsibility for instigation of national strife or propagation of racial or national discrimination—this would also provide a legal basis for the establishment of special state organs for national relations, and for guaranteeing national minorities' representation within the highest and local branches of government organs. The law could define the status of national culture associations, serve their financial needs, and guarantee the right of national group representatives to learn their native language, maintain cultural ties with their historical fatherland, and establish cultural centers and print publications.

The current stage in national relations demands that the party prepare a new program for patriotic, international and classic education. Taking present conditions into account, it is necessary to define the concepts of "internationalism," "nationalism," and "national egotism." It is essential to unmask attempts that, under the guise of internationalism (dogmatic), seek to propagate cosmopolitanism and chauvinism.

The basic task for party ideological action is to form a healthy national consciousness and respect for the national values of other nationalities, as well as to foster a high-level culture of international contact. In the restructuring and democratization process, national consciousness must become a single, deciding, spiritual and reorganizational factor, not only in the entire country, but also in every union republic.

In accordance with decisions of the 19th union party conference on government decentralization, support must be given to efforts by union republic party and public organizations to achieve independence in organizational and political action.

In disagreeing with the idea of party organization along national lines, we consider it expedient to raise republic party and organization status—by granting them real autonomy in solving all local questions pertaining to public life, and the right to independently decide their party apparatus structure and stages, and to utilize their capital. Republic Komsomol organizations should also be given independence and responsibility in making political and organizational decisions. Following the initiation of cost accountability and economic independence, union republic trade unions must obtain wide-ranging rights and opportunities, especially in the areas of property and financial management.

An opportunity must be guaranteed for each union republic to conduct its independent policy in cultural matters, to reject the leftovers principle, and to bring its cultural activity disproportions up to par. It would be justifiable to decentralize the activities of creative

unions, concert organizations, exposition organizing, and contacts with counterpart foreign organizations. It is important to point out that republic creative unions join the USSR creative unions with collective membership rights. They must be given publishing rights, the right to maintenance of their own membership, and the freedom to handle their own funds.

Brotherly nationality cultures must enrich themselves solely through a natural exchange of spiritual and art treasures gleaned from original national traditions, and not by means of a false culture.

It is worthwhile to bring back a national Olympic committee, sponsored by the republic's public initiative. This does not contradict the Olympic Charter, and contributes to democratization of republic as well as Soviet Union sports movements.

In the area of social and economic development. The Lithuanian SSR has practically none of the resources necessary for industrialization of the national economy. However, supported during the past decades by the raw material base of other union republics, republic industry has been quickly expanded, and agriculture has been further reinforced along with it. For this reason Lithuania is currently an industrial and agrarian republic whose economy, according to many economic indices, exceeds the USSR average, and which, in economic terms, is one of the most developed union republics.

The effectiveness in the republic economy of public production has decreased, however, because of the economy's administrative centralization, and the solution of social problems has slowed down, while other negative phenomena have come into existence. A situation has developed within the republic's economy whereby the Council of Ministers is handling only one-tenth of its production potential. Administration and planning of the rest of production activity are under the jurisdiction of union central organs.

Territorial interests, such as developmental complexities, solution of ecological problems, etc., are perceived as only secondary by the union ministries. This situation gives rise, of course, to social and national opposition.

The level of the populations's welfare does not depend, in practice, on the effectiveness of the republic economy's functions and its final results and contribution to the entire USSR economy. The production output of Lithuanian enterprises is distributed by union departments, while Lithuanian SSR organs have no practical opportunities to satisfy their population's needs for the most essential food products, as well as other wares. This causes imbalance and economic concern, as well as losses in the population's income.

Within the projected regional economic accountability concept for Lithuania, a provision is included for expanding republic economic rights in decisions regarding its economic and social development questions, and also for more active participation in division of labor within the USSR territory. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party maintains that republic economic development, under conditions of economic independence and economic accountability, will assist it in participating more intensively in the all-union market, and strengthen direct inter-republic relations while relying upon mutually beneficial exchange of commodities and, concurrently, fulfilling contractual and government agreements.

We consider it essential to basically expand the economic realm of the union republic itself, to accurately define the functions of central, republic and local organs, and to provide workable conditions in order to ensure complex economic development for the entire republic as well as for individual cities and rayons. The republic rights must be considerably expanded in decision-making on questions of economic policy, local budget structure, development and consolidation of economic, social, cultural and demographic plans and programs, work compensation, taxation, pricing, and international economic relations.

Work collectives support and approve the republic's transition to economic accountability principles. However, as shown by experience, putting this into practice is rather complicated. This stems not only from the fact that individual union republic departmental characteristics differ from one another, but also because the positions of individual republics are different. That is why only certain elements of economic accountability can be found in the USSR Council of Ministers commission's "General Principles For Administration of the Economy and Social Realm Within the Union Republics on a Restructuring Independence and Financing Basis." Generally speaking, it is a step forward in expanding union republic rights, as well as in widening their responsibility in administration, financing, and the complex area of social development. The prepared concept, however, does not as yet guarantee total economic independence for the republics, lacks a multifaceted expansion of economic administrative methods, and does not provide for a basic transition from the existing adminitrative-division principles of economic administration to actual commodity-financing relations that are accomplished by means of equivalent market exchanges. To our way of thinking, several variants for independence and financial principle application, in accordance with local conditions and characteristics, should be prepared; life will single out the more appropriate variant, which yields better final results.

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, supported by opinions of scientists, economic administrators and economists, proposes to supplement and expand the "General Principles For the Administration of the Economy and Social Realm Within the Union Republics on a Restructuring Independence and Financing Basis" as follows:

In the area of expanding independence. To examine, with assistance from experts, the problem of ownership. We have learned from experience that negative results are obtained because producers are not the owners of enterprises. Local inhabitants fail to understand why the land and everything under it, where they have lived for a long time, as well as the waters, the forests, and the natural resources, which are subject to taxation, are not the state property of a Soviet republic.

According to union concept, enterprises under union republic branch jurisdiction and enterprises under union jurisdiction, which manufacture simple goods earmarked for national consumption, will be turned over to republic jurisdiction.

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party unanimously concurs with economic administrators in noting the importance of turning over to Republic jurisdiction all union jurisdiction enterprises which either specialize in or produce mostly goods intended for use by the population. This will aid in increasing republic interest in further developing production of goods for public demand.

The process of setting up enterprises and associations whose status is non-departmental is presently under way. We approve of this work collective goal. It is important to grant all enterprises the right to decide for themselves the question of obtaining non-departmental status.

In striving to eradicate a production monopoly that undermines consumer interests, it would be expedient to draw up and adopt some anti-trust laws.

Rail, sea, air, and tube transport remain under union jurisdiction, in accordance with the concept. This is correct, in principle. It is proposed to concurrently restructure the mutual relations between these systems and the union republic, so that they would be based on a mutually useful economic principle and would become economically accountable. It is proposed that more attention be given to republic opinions in restructuring these systems. We think, for instance, that it would be expedient for the USSR Ministry of Transportation to establish a Baltic railroad comprising Vilnius and Siauliai Districts, directly under that ministry's jurisdiction. All conditions necessary for the independent functioning of sea and air transport also exist.

In planning. The entire system is mutually interconnected with the State Enterprise Law. The republics should therefore repudiate initial planning data by control number, since these become compulsory and thus greatly hinder a republic's independence. Growth proportions should be regulated according to mutually beneficial state orders and direct contracts. It is essential to concurrently change the State Enterprise Law, in order that provision be made for the right of an enterprise to refuse a state order if its conditions are not met.

In appreciation of the right given union republics with regard to goods manufacture for republic consumers and the services planning area, we consider it necessary to grant the republic councils of ministers the right to determine state orders for paid services, and within those enterprises which fall under union jurisdiction as well, since such services are offered to local residents only.

In state budget forming. Republic transition to independence and self-financing dictates, in principle, new attitudes toward republic budget forming and use. The system which is proposed for the union state budget, the republic state budgets, and local budget forming is much too complicated; it limits, in some aspects, the independence currently enjoyed by republics, and causes an imbalance between income and expenditures in city and rayon budgets. We are proposing the very simple principle of accumulating all income within the republic and letting the republic handle accounting with the union budget, as a single entity, according to the established normatives.

We consider the formation of such a USSR and union republic budget necessary to forestall the possibility of subsidy introduction, i.e. to destroy an administratively influenced budget system.

Improvement in territorial credit planning is an important concern. According to the proposed republic concept, republics are supposedly accorded the right to disburse independently credit reserves accumulated by them within the republic. It is projected, however, to pool such reserves in a centralized fund for disbursement based upon a common standard. In following such a directive, standards may be set that would place such reserves at the USSR Bank's disposal for crediting—but not for republic use. We consider it essential to grant the republic councils of ministers the right to handle those credit reserves which have been accrued within the republics; free reserves could be turned over to those interested, in return for a certain sum in payment; in the event that deficits arise, funds may be obtained in the same manner.

The banking system must be reorganized. It is essential to turn over all the specialized banks (USSR Agro-Industrial Bank, Apartment Bank, Municipal Economy and Social Development Banks, Industry and Construction Bank and Bank for Maintaining Economic Ties Abroad) from union to republic jurisdiction, granting the Council of Ministers the right to establish tariffs on credit utilization, as well as the use of enterprise, organization and public funds. Coordination of all bank activities within a republic's territory, and ensuring uniformity in money circulation, currency, and credit practices, as well as all other bank-related activities by all banking institutions, can be accomplished only by placing all banks under republic and, to a certain extent, USSR State Bank jurisdiction; the latter, according to the nature of its work, should be an institution under union republic jurisdiction.

In the labor and labor compensation area. It is necessary to grant the republic the right to make decisions on the scope and structure of education, the system for preparation and assignation of specialists, setting the pay scale for instructional work, establishing tariffs (official positions) for enforcing procedure, and other conditions for organizing compensation and material incentives within all branches of the economy under departmental jurisdiction. Republics should regard the established union tariffs and salaries as minimal requirements.

USSR Supreme Soviet and Government decisions only should be compulsory for union republics in the realm of labor compensation. Department directives may be acted upon only upon approval by the union republic Council of Ministers.

In the area of international economy activities. It is necessary to grant all republics, enterprises, and organizations the right to independently establish direct industrial, scientific and technical, and trade contacts with foreign partners, and to start joint enterprises, firms, etc.

The Republic cannot be content with regulations formulated in the concept which states that the future standard of deductions for the republic currency fund from jurisdictional enterprises and organizations depends on deductions into the union fund, which we think is currently too large. The standard for deductions for the republic Council of Ministers from union jurisdictional enterprises and organizations is too small. The branch standard for deductions for the currency funds of these enterprises provides little incentive.

A system of currency deductions and one for the creation of a currency fund needs to be established for the republic enterprises and organizations—one that would provide incentive for widening international economic ties. We think it is necessary to transfer about 30 percent of currency deductions from the union and non-departmental jurisdiction enterprises. In addition, it is necessary to retain within republic disposition current credit reserves, which came from the appropriate territory, and also to grant the right to obtain currency credits abroad.

In order to address tourist service problems more concisely, we think it is necessary to turn foreign tourism offices over to the republic, granting it comprehensive rights for developing foreign tourism, forming contacts with foreign firms, and developing economically accountable activity.

In seeking to accomplish the restructuring of economic activity of enterprises and organizations and in solving republic social problems, it is essential to accurately define the terms for the republic transfer to independence and self-financing. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party believes such a change should begin from 1990.

The principles under discussion do not reflect all questions related to economic accountability on a republic level. They do, however, constitute a major step in improving the economic mechanism, and could well become the foundation for preparing a corresponding USSR draft. At the same time, such principles should be gradually extended, with bold experimentation checks in individual republics, so that in the future it would be possible to change over to total republic economic accountability and economic independence, with genuine market relations existing internally, as well as those with foreign countries.

TIESA Editorial Poscript. During the period of restructuring, questions of our country's nationality policy, international relations situation, and development, as well as other questions, became especially pressing. The 19th union party conference special resolution, "Concerning International Relations," established special guidelines for their solution. These questions are constantly exciting the people of our Republic—a fact attested to by conversations, deliberations, discussions in collectives, letters to the editors of newspapers and periodicals, and by television and radio. Today, TIESA readers will have an opportunity to acquaint themselves with proposals by the Lithuanian Communist Party to the Central Committee plenum of the CPSU on "Improving International Relations Within the Soviet Union." We invite you to share your thoughts on these questions and present new proposals and amendments, and express your ideas on what must be done by each one of us in order to ensure the firm establishment of Leninist national policy principles in our life. We await your letters, which should be addressed to both the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the TIESA Editorial Office.

Estonian Economist Disputes PRAVDA Article

LD1702141789 Tallinn MAALEHT in Estonian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Economist Valter Aasmae article: "V. Miloserdov's Half-truth in PRAVDA"]

[Text] At the beginning of last December another article condemning Estonia appeared in PRAVDA (the author was V. Miloserdov). This agricultural story was translated and published in the 15 December MAALEHT (together with an explanatory note by A. Koop). As the 17 January VORU TEATAJA announces, the PETCHERSKAYA PRAVDA did indeed use the PRAVDA data for the purpose of proving the moral right of the population of Petseri to obtain foodstuff from Estonia.

The "crafty figures:" of V. Miloserdov, corresponding member of the all-Union Academy of Agriculture, were also criticized by M. Bronstein in his open letter (RAHVA HAAL 21 December, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 27 December, and PRAVDA 16 January). There were, however, rather more than mere words. I will speak by figures.

Corresponding member V. Miloserdov asserts that Estonia "is being given every year 1.2-1.3 million tonnes of concentrated feed. According to the international prices in force this is R180 million. For such an amount it is possible to buy from abroad nearly 190,000 tonnes of beef or 280,000 tonnes of pork." But Estonia was giving to the state only 69,000 tonnes of meat. There are several mistakes in this assertion.

First, as regards the same concentrated feed we are selling to the union fund, in addition to the 69,000 tonnes of meat, also approximately 550,000 tonnes of milk (butter, cheese, etc.) and 35 million eggs. More than 1.5 million liters of milk and nearly 100,000 eggs are taken daily from Estonia to the Union fund. The esteemed corresponding member has overlooked this fact! It can no longer be that easily ascertained whether this is due to incompetence or a half-truth to be spread deliberately.

Second, it is not clear from what sources the world market prices quoted by V. Miloserdov originate, on the basis of which the R180 million price for 1.2-1.3 million tonnes of grain has been obtained. He has written very craftily. "Let us say that this year in September the cost of 1 tonne of grain in foreign currency together with carriage was R130-150, of beef R970, of port R650, of butter R1,150." Why, after all, is pork not bought then for 65 kopecks and beef for 97 kopecks a kilogram? The matter is simple, those kopecks are golden, this means convertible. The international prices of foodstuffs are published by the FAO bulletin. The September 1988 prices have not yet reached the library of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences. The latest data is from April or May 1988.

According to the FAO data, as an average for 1987, hard wheat cost in the United States $114 a tonne, barley in Canada 56, soya-bean meal (44 percent of protein) in Europe 203, beef in Argentina 1,555, in Australia 2,240, pork in Europe 1,489, butter in Europe 3,910, in the United States $3,086 a tonne. According to the exchange rate of the USSR State Bank (see IZVESTIYA 21 December) U.S. $100 are R60.30. When converting the price of grain allocated to our republic to dollars, then the resulting price of 1 tonne is $215-250 (R130-150: 0.603). Why was twice the actual world market price paid for the grain? Does this not involve squandering, and should the prosecutor not intervene in the matter? Who is responsible for a rational utilization of currency in the Soviet Union?

To avoid in the future the appearance of slanderous articles against the republic in the Moscow "Truth," [play on words since "pravda" means truth"] 'Petseri Truth' and in any other "truths", I propose to move from words to actions. And that is as follows:

1) we stop sending cheese and butter to the union fund until PRAVDA publishes an apology from V. Miloserdov;

2) we will apply that the 180 million hard currency rubles ($298 million) which were spent to buy grain are allocated to be at the disposal of the republican agro-industrial committee. If 1) and 2) are not possible, V. Miloserdov must be invited to Estonia. Let him speak on television and say what is right.

Estonian cattle-breeders expend 1.5 times less feed on a unit of production compared with the Soviet average, and sell their production to the domestic market at the cheapest price, and apart from anything else, they will even be mocked at for this.

Finally, a question to the government of our republic: What has the government done and what does it intend to do against the attacks of both the central and provincial press?

Reader Urges Thinning of MVD Higher Ranks

PM1602160589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

["Letter 'Not for Publication'" from CPSU member L. Maksimov: "Fewer Officials—More Work"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—What do the people know about the numerical strength of our internal affairs organs or the cost of maintaining them which is borne by society? Even I, after more than 35 years' service in the MVD system, cannot answer that question.

A decision was made recently to reduce the party apparatus and the number of workers of many ministries and departments.

The need to reorganize and reduce the administrative apparatus within the system of the USSR MVD, the MVDs of the union and autonomous republics, and the Internal Affairs Administrations of krayispolkoms is highlighted even more clearly against that background. In the seventies and the early eighties, that is, when the renown of Shchelokov and Churbanov was at its height, the administrative apparatus mushroomed. Administrations were transformed into main administrations, departments into administrations, new main committees were set up.... All this was done more to increase the quotas of higher ranking officers. Generals sprang up like mushrooms after warm rain. But the fight against crime, as we know, did not benefit from this.

Perhaps it would be better to raise the pay of workers of the Criminal Investigation Department and the other services which have borne the brunt of the struggle against crime? And abolish the posts of the surplus generals.

Perhaps this work is already in progress at the MVD. But if that is so, the population should be told about it.

MVD Official Briefs Newsmen on Crime Statistics

PM1602155189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 4

[A. Dyatlov report: "Once and for All? Briefing at USSR MVD: 'Crime' Figures Available for First Time"]

[Excerpt] "At long last!"—that was the main reaction in the press center of one of the country's most secretive ministries. And it was the reaction not just of journalists but of the actual person giving the briefing—Major General of the Internal Service A.I. Smirnov, chief of the ministry's Main Information Center; Lieutenant Colonel M.K. [surname illegible], chief of one of the departments of the Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation; and staffers from the USSR MVD Press Section.

All "crime" figures have been secret since 1933, and the newspapers have only published "embellished" scraps of information.

Now you can judge the crime rate for yourselves.

The briefing dealt with questions of the struggle against speculation, the equipping of the police, and so forth.

Question from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: Could you say how many repeat offenders there are among teenagers? After all, if they go back to crime after being punished, that tells us something about the state of educational work and the prevention of lawbreaking.

Maj Gen of the Internal Service A.I. Smirnov: Yes, juveniles committed 183,953 offenses in 1988. We are worried and alarmed that there has been a growth in crime among the 14-17 age group. General education school students committed 47,000 crimes, which is 4.3 percent more than in 1987. Students at vocational and technical colleges committed 63,000 crimes. The figures are also on the increase at VUZ's and secondary specialized educational establishments. To move on to repeat offenders: Among juveniles the number increased by 19 percent—22,000 young men and women committed repeat offenses.

More than half of all previous offenders had already been behind bars; of these, 56,000 committed a crime within 1 year of their release.

One final figure: One-third of all convicted criminals—and this includes adults—were under 30 years of age. [passage omitted]

*Latest Technology Needed in Fight Against Crime

WA18000551 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by B. Ryazantsev: "Armed and Very Dangerous"]

[Text] Moscow—The operations agents were confused. The colonel was angry:

"How long are these criminals going to stay ahead of us? You get the impression that they know our every step ahead of time."

Reflecting on all this, the major mechanically cupped his hand over the metal paper clips and began to make a chain. One of the paper clips fell on the desk and suddenly, jerking strangely, it stuck to the edge as though it were glued there. The major pulled out the drawer and looked under the top of the desk. A radio microphone was attached to the metal frame inside the desk with a magnetic suction cup. It also attracted a piece of iron....

A couple of days later the bandits were arrested.

...Possibly, the details of the incident were somewhat different—this is one of the versions of what happened. The investigation of this case is still continuing. But fact is still fact: the criminals actually did manage to install a powerful and sensitive microphone in the desk of the leader of the operational investigations group of the police department. And sitting in a car a block away from the administration, they learned about all forthcoming actions "first hand."

"Unfortunately," comments the department chief of the Academy of the USSR MVD Lt Col Ignatov, "this is far from the only case in which the criminal world has demonstrated its technical capabilities. It is no secret that criminal groups actively buy up the most modern equipment. They quite correctly think that the large expenditures are recouped 100-fold when it is used. For example, it is possible to calculate on a computer in variants the details of a forthcoming attack on a collector, a mechanism for bookkeeping "business" and so forth.

It is also good if the city department has a domestically produced dictaphone. True, it cannot be placed in a pocket or you cannot even hide it in your briefcase. And in addition to this, a Zenit-Ye camera. There is no doubt that it is a good camera, but how can it compare to a videocamera, which the department does not have. And even if it had one, it could not use it. Although there is no law against it. The problem lies elsewhere—in the complicated practice of law enforcement. It rejects many of the methods of investigation of criminals that are used in other countries.

"I am sure that by naming only a couple of these devices I am evoking the customary irritation from the conservative part of the domestic legal experts," continues S.

Ignatov. "Without disputing in any way the current opinion about how scientific Lombrovo's work is, I shall permit myself to note that a psychiatrist and a criminologist who are famous in the Western world were the first to note that it is possible to determine how truthful a person is being from his psychological condition. Then he had students and followers who developed a system of equipment that monitors a criminal's condition during interrogation. The equipment has many names. Including polygraph and lie detector, which in our press is generally called a "detector of lies."

Incidentally, the capabilities of the lie detector, or polygraph as they are more frequently called, are certainly not ideal—from 50 to 90 percent. But it can be used even for proof of a crime (as in 30 states of the United States) and as an instrument for investigation.

"And what does it look like?"

"It is a complicated set of instruments that registers the blood pressure, pulse, body temperature, and other parameters of the human body. It is set for questions that can only be answered truthfully. And the physiological indicators will be normal until a certain effort is made—to lie. A mini-conflict arises within the self. But the instruments register it since the slightest tension in the organism is responded to with an increase in blood pressure or temperature and a speeding up of the pulse. And then the needles on the gauges begin to move and the automatic recorder registers them. This is the obsolete type.

"Have you had occasion to see a polygraph in operation?"

"Yes, in one of the socialist countries where it is used actively. They were looking for a woman who had disappeared. According to the working version she had been killed and she had to be looked for within a small territory. The suspect agreed to a polygraph test. They began by asking him simple questions. Where is the body? In the forest? In the field? In the garden? In the house? The needles moved. In the dining room? In the living room? In the store room? On the second floor? On the first floor? In the basement? The needles moved again. And they went on like this until they located it.

Modern polygraphs non-contact polygraphs cause no psychological trauma. There are no gauges or web of wires. The basic work is done by the speech analyzer with a computer, with which a vocaloscopic examination is conducted. Practice tells us that if the subject tries to conceal the truth his voice changes.

Only those who are unjust would try to discredit the achievements of science and technology in the fight against crime. The textbook image of a bandit—wearing a cap pulled down over his eyes with a switchblade in his pocket—is hopelessly outdated. The present-day opponent of the police is fully provided with modern equipment....

"When a criminal group was taken in Uzbekistan, in addition to the videotape recorder they discovered a good hundred cassettes with police training films from the FRG. The modern criminal is far from being a thug with the brain of a degenerate. He is composed, intellectually developed, and disciplined within the framework of the group; he does not drink or smoke; he is constantly training," continued the person with whom I was speaking.

"Does it turn out that the approach to operations work must be radically changed?"

"Undoubtedly. In my opinion, we need new legislative acts which would clarify the correctness of operational investigation measures, including with respect to technical equipment, in order to untie the hands of our 'detectives.' But so far they are still locked in the handcuffs of instructions."

Economic

Decree on Income Taxation of Cooperatives

PM2402112989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Payment of Income Tax by Cooperatives"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To stipulate that production cooperatives (excluding kolkhozes), and also their unions and associations receiving income from economic activity, hereinafter termed "cooperatives," shall pay to the budget income tax from the proceeds from the sale of output (work, services) and other revenue less the costs of their raw and other materials, payment for the services of outside organizations, transport costs, depreciation allowances, total lease payments for fixed capital, interest payments on short-term bank loans, and other expenditure (excluding expenditure on remuneration) linked with the production and sale of output (work, services), and also state social insurance payments.

Income donated to the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Culture Fund, the Soviet Charity and Health Fund, and other similar funds, or to social organizations' other charitable purposes shall not be taxable.

2. The tax rates shall be determined by union republic legislation on the basis of the need to comprehensively develop the cooperative movement, to take account of local and national features, to create conditions for economic competition between cooperatives and state enterprises, and to pursue an effective tax policy. Rates may differ according to the type of cooperative, the aims of their activity, the urgency of meeting public demand, the conditions of material and technical supply and sales of

output (work, services), price formation and the level of cooperative income, and the proportion of total labor expenditure directly performed by cooperative members.

With a view to stimulating production of output (work, services) needed by the population and the national economy and reducing the prices (tariffs) of such output the local ispolkom which registers a cooperative may reduce tax rates for a certain period or relieve certain cooperatives of their tax liability.

Cooperatives in which not less than 50 percent of the work force are people with limited capacity for labor (all categories of invalids), and also those using local and secondary raw materials, those engaged in the production and processing of their own agricultural output, the manufacture of goods specially for invalids or the elderly, or the provision of charitable services, and those assimilating high-quality new output entailing increased production costs shall have priority in receiving benefits.

3. Cooperatives shall be obliged to submit a declaration of income to financial organs not later than the 15th of the month following the end of the quarter. The procedure and form for submission of the declaration shall be laid down by the USSR Ministry of Finance.

4. Cooperatives shall pay income tax once a quarter, not later than the 20th of the month following the end of the quarter. Calculation and payment of tax due shall be carried out by the cooperatives themselves.

5. Cooperatives shall be responsible for the correct calculation and timely payment of income tax. In the event of the concealment or understating of taxable income, cooperatives shall be liable to pay to the budget the entire sum of concealed (understated) income, irrespective of when it was obtained, and also a fine of the same amount. The concealed (understated) income and the fine shall be payable within 5 days of the violation being uncovered.

In the event of a cooperative concealing (understating) its income on a further occasion the activities of the cooperative in question may be terminated by decision of the registering ispolkom.

6. It shall be laid down that late payment of income tax by cooperatives shall incur a penalty of 0.05 percent per day levied on the arrears.

Total tax due together with any concealed (understated) income and any fine for concealment (understating) of income if not paid within the prescribed time shall be subject to collection by order of financial organs without recourse to the courts.

7. Total tax due together with any concealed (understated) income and any fine for concealment (understating) of income shall be paid into the budget of the rayon or city whose ispolkom registered the cooperative, and the total of the above payments made by cooperatives' unions and associations shall be paid into the budget of the rayon or city in which the unions and associations are located.

8. The correct calculation and timely payment of income tax by cooperatives, and the correct preparation and timely submission of declarations shall be monitored by financial organs. At the demand of financial organs cooperatives must submit all documents needed to check that the level of taxable income and tax due has been calculated correctly.

9. Appeals against incorrect actions by financial organ officials in levying income tax on cooperatives shall be heard under the procedure laid down by the Statute on the Collection of Unpaid Tax and Nontax Payments ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 26 January 1981 (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, No 5, 1981, p 122).

10. In connection with the adoption of this decree:

1) In the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 1 March 1979 "On the Payment of Income Tax by Cooperative and Social Organizations" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, No 10, 1979, p 156; No 7, 1987, p 90; and No 11, 1988, p 174):

Article 1 is to read as follows:

"1. Under the present decree the actual balance-sheet profit on economic activity carried out by cooperative (excluding production cooperatives, their unions and associations, and interfarm enterprises and organizations in agriculture and their associations) and social organizations together with the total surplus of income over expenditure generated by their transactions shall be liable to income tax.

"The tax payable shall be 35 percent of taxable income";

Article 2 Paragraph C is deemed inoperative;

Article 3 Part 2 is to read as follows:

"Income tax shall be calculated quarterly on the basis of total actual balance-sheet profit and surplus of income over expenditure in the period since the beginning of the year";

Article 8 Part 2 and Article 15 are deemed inoperative.

2) Article 4 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 14 March 1988 "On the Taxation of Citizens Working in Cooperatives Producing and Selling Output and Providing Services and on Changing the Procedure for Issuing Permits for Individual Labor Activity" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, No 11, 1988, p 174) is deemed inoperative.

11. This decree is to take effect 1 July 1989.

12. The USSR Council of Ministers shall bring USSR Government decisions into line with this decree by 1 July 1989.

13. Union republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums shall be charged with bringing union republic legislation into line with this decree by 1 July 1989.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, the Kremlin, 23 February 1989

Military

Yazov Writes on Mission, History of Army

PM2302143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister: "The Army of the People"] [Text] When the earthquake started, Lieutenant Yu. Konyukhov was not far from one of Leninakan's schools. Without a second thought he rushed to where the walls and ceilings of a building containing children were collapsing in clouds of dust and debris. The officer managed to save many children from death's clutches, risking his own life every second and being seriously injured in the process....

Thinking about the lieutenant who saved the kids in Leninakan called to mind another officer—Major O. Yurasov. He died in the Salang saving old Afghan men, women, and children from bandits who were trying to use them as hostages. I remembered my front-line comrades, the officers and men with whom I trudged the paths of war and served in the four corners of the country in the postwar years. I thought of them and I saw the figure of the Soviet serviceman that crowns the monument in Berlin's Treptow Park.

It probably was not only or not so much a question of the similarity between the sculpture figure and the faces I knew of warriors in the Great Patriotic War or of the feats of today's servicemen saving children in Leninakan or Afghanistan. I think there was a different connection "at work" here. A profound, deep-seated connection. It shows the essence of our Army's soldiers and men—defenders of the motherland, life, and world peace—and interweaves together the intimate kinship and spiritual continuity of generations of Soviet servicemen.

The main distinctive feature of the first-ever people's Army was forged and tempered through their military labor for the good of the beloved country and their service feats to the glory of the fatherland.

Our Army is in origin a people's army. It was born of workers and peasants. Through their revolutionary creativity, under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik party, it was created at a hard time when the young Soviet state was being assailed by the joint forces of internal and external counterrevolution. A mass, battle-ready army was needed to protect the revolution and oppose the forces of well-trained and well-equipped imperialist regulars.

Such an army could only be created on a basis of regular cadres. The militia formations set up as part of the general arming of the people were incapable of carrying out the task of defending the country. On the basis of a realistic assessment of the specific conditions in which the Soviet republic found itself, on 28 January and 11 February 1918 the Council of People's Commissars adopted decrees formulated on the initiative and with the active participation of V.I. Lenin on the organization of the Worker-Peasant Red Army and Navy.

On 18 February, exploiting Trotskiy's disruption of the Brest-Litovsk peace talks, troops from the Kaiser's Germany went on the offensive along the entire Russian-German front—from the Baltic to the Carpathians.

The country was rocked by the alarm sounded by Lenin's appeal-cum-decree "The Socialist Fatherland Is in Danger!" which proclaimed the selfless defense of the Soviet Republic to be the sacred duty of workers and peasants.

In response to the party's call the best representatives of the industrial and rural proletariat along with revolutionary-minded soldiers from the old army started streaming into the Red Army. The Red Guards detachments were the basis of the first formations and units and constituted their proletarian nucleus. The flower of the working class and peasantry, the Red Guards brought to the new Army high conscientiousness, organization, firm discipline, collectivism, and comradeship.

The soviets and Bolshevik party organizations in Petrograd, Moscow, and many other cities and industrial areas declared 23 February 1918 to be Defense of the Socialist Fatherland Day. Marked by a particular upsurge in mass volunteering for Red Army service and unparalleled heroism by the Red Army units which underwent their baptism of fire in clashes with the Kaiser's troops, this day became our Army's birthday and has been celebrated for 71 years now as a great festival for truly all the people.

Our Army is a people's army by virtue of its historic mission. As V.I. Lenin said in his farewell speech to volunteers leaving for the front in early 1918, it is "called upon to protect the gains of the revolution, our people's

power, soviets of soldiers', workers', and peasants' deputies, and the entire new and truly democratic system from all the people's enemies...."

No army before ever had or could have had such a vocation.

Conviction of the justice of the cause which the soldier serves and to which he swears loyalty was the source of mass heroism. On the front lines at Pskov and Narva, at the Cherekha and Mnoga Rivers, everywhere that the newly formed Red Army units came face to face with the enemy, they fought with selfless valor and courage and fought to the death. Tsaritsyn, Kakhovka, Chongar, Perekop, Volochayevka, and Spassk were the first evidence of our Army's all-conquering combat spirit; they entered its annals and the country's history as bright symbols of military courage, heroism, and selfless devotion to the motherland and the people. Their glorious rank later included Hasan and Halhaiin-Gol and during the period of the Great Patriotic War: Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Smolensk, Tula, Stalingrad, Sevastopol, Odessa, Murmansk, Novorossiysk, Kerch, the Brest fortress, and hundreds and thousands of other cities and villages in the motherland.

The last war fully revealed the character of our Army as a people's army. The people outfitted and equipped their Army and provided it with everything it needed to defeat the aggressors. The rear was a mighty support for the front in the first few grave weeks and months of the war in preparing and effecting the radical breakthrough, cleansing our native land of the fascist invaders, and fulfilling the great mission of liberating many countries in Europe and Asia from their enslavement by foreign invaders.

The Soviet soldier appeared to all mankind as a patriot, an internationalist, and a man not only of supreme courage, valor, and martial skill, but also of great justice, inner culture, selflessness, and humanism.

In accordance with the Geneva agreements, whose initiators included the Soviet Union, the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan was fully completed 15 February. The Soviet people are greeting their sons, are proud of them, are expressing gratitude for their courage, selflessness, and heroism, and are surrounding them with attention and concern. The glorious memory of those who died in performing to the end their duty as patriots and internationalists will always remain in the hearts of Soviet people.

The soldiers of the eighties, like their fathers and grandfathers, have been inspired to conscientious military service and to feats of arms by their clear realization of the lofty mission of our Army, a mission which has in essence remained unchanged to this day from the moment it was created. The realities of the nuclear missile age are imparting a qualitatively new substance to this mission and imposing on the Soviet Army and Navy particular responsibility for resolving the task of preventing war. This task is fused together in our defensive doctrine with the task of defending socialism. Our defense building, the restructuring of the Armed Forces on the basis of the principles of reasonable sufficiency and priority for qualitative parameters, and the training, entire life, and activity of troops and naval forces are subordinated to the fulfillment of this task. This objectively accords with the fundamental vital interests of both the Soviet people and all the peoples of the world.

Our Army is a people's army in terms of its makeup. Part of the people's flesh and blood, at the dawn of Soviet power it was, in Lenin's definition, the army of the proletariat. Millions of working pesasants were united in its ranks with workers. In effect our Army constituted an armed alliance between them performing the function of defending the socialist fatherland. It was manned at first on a strictly class basis and later on a nationwide basis.

Today the sons of workers, kolkhoz workers, intellectuals, and the representatives of all nations and ethnic groups in our united multinational motherland—the USSR—serve in the Armed Forces. Soviet soldiers are united by social unity and common world outlook, vital interests, and aims. They are all—soldiers and generals—socially equal in the face of the demands of Soviet laws and they are all responsible to the people for reliably defending their peaceful labor.

The present-day life of the Army and Navy is marked by the strengthening of personnel's internal cohesion, a steady upsurge in servicemen's sociopolitical and service activeness, and increasingly full exposure of the creative potential of the party and Komsomol organizations making up the political nucleus of troop collectives. The activity of all our Armed Forces' democratic institutions is being stepped up. Of course, not everything is proceeding smoothly and it has not proved possible to eliminate all the braking, stagnant elements as quickly as we would like. But experience illustrates that more and more servicemen are joining in the common committed work of restructuring. This is a guarantee of its success.

Unfortunately, we have not yet succeeded in extirpating from Army and Navy life so-called "bullying by seniors" and barrack-room hooliganism—an unnatural phenomenon for our Army.

We are not reassured by the fact that in the last 3 years the number of offenses linked with nonregulation relations has almost halved. Most subunits have eliminated any manifestations of "bullying by seniors." All the efforts of commanders, political workers, party and Komsomol organizations, and the Army and Navy public are geared to totally eradicating this phenomenon.

There is another good sign of the deepening restructuring of military life. I refer to the consolidation of spiritual intimacy between officers and conscripted servicemen. This intimacy is natural and is socially conditioned by the very nature, purpose, and makeup of our Army. But

in every specific case it is achieved by joint work by officers and soldiers, mutual respect, and exacting concern on the part of commanders and chiefs for their subordinates. Formalism, indifference, arrogance, willfulness, and disrespect for human dignity erect a barrier between officers and soldiers. If you eliminate these negative phenomena there will be no alienation and the isolation from subordinates will disappear. This is one of the most important tasks of restructuring within the Armed Forces.

The overwhelming majority of our officers are people who have chosen military service as their lifelong profession, have found their vocation there, and devote all their efforts, energy, knowledge, and talent to it. But military service is a difficult matter that requires profound, multifaceted knowledge, sound skills, complete dedication, selflessness, and constant readiness to skillfully perform to the end the duty of defending the homeland. It also presupposes an ability to overcome many difficulties and privations in campaign and field life and domestic inconveniences and adversities. Our officer profession has always enjoyed special respect among the people. The people's traditions include a solicitous, loving, and concerned attitude toward those to whom the defense of their freedom and independence and their life itself is entrusted.

Our Army is a people's army because it is an inalienable part of the people and shares the same life, interests, and concerns as the people. As all Soviet people, members of the Soviet Armed Forces are currently resolving the practical tasks of restructuring and making persistent efforts to improve the quality of their training and enhance the end results of their military work, which are reflected in concentrated form in the high level of combat readiness. Maintaining it at this level, so that no one should be tempted to encroach on the security of the Soviet Union and its allies, is the main task the Soviet people have set the Armed Forces.

The will of the people is reflected in M.S. Gorbachev's decision, announced in the United Nations, to make extensive, unilateral cuts in the Soviet Armed Forces—12 percent of their numerical strength—and to reduce the military budget by 14.2 percent and the production of arms and military equipment by almost one-fifth. The Army and the Navy have an enormous responsibility to the party and the people to ensure that the implementation of these cuts in no way affects the level of the country's defense capability or troops' combat readiness. This is now the focus of attention of command-political cadres and all Armed Forces personnel.

As a result of the troop reductions, there will be an influx into the national economy of tens of thousands of new and, as a rule, highly qualified working people. And the reduction in expenditure on defense and the production of arms and military equipment will make it possible to use the resources thereby freed to resolve problems of socioeconomic development. In the course of implementing the measures envisaged by the cuts, we will have to solve a number of serious social issues, including those connected with finding jobs for the officers and warrant officers discharged and ensuring they have somewhere to live. This is not a departmental concern but something that concerns all our people and requires the most active, interested participation of local party and soviet bodies and social organizations.

As in the rest of the country, the Armed Forces are currently preparing for the elections of USSR people's deputies. The collectives of many enterprises, institutions, VUZ's, and schools have nominated servicemen as candidates for deputy. This is further tangible evidence that our Army is an army of the people and an inalienable part of it. The voters highly appraise the Armed Forces representatives who are standing as candidates for deputy because of their state approach to the task of defending the fatherland and their ability to effectively and purposefully resolve serious socioeconomic and ecological problems and conduct military-patriotic education.

Throughout the history of our Army there has existed a fine tradition of military servicemen involving themselves in the solution of national economic tasks. Every year they assist in gathering the harvest, erecting important industrial projects and housing, and building roads. Labor and military collectives are closely linked by ties of patronage. Working people from Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, and the collectives of the largest plants and associations send their trainees to regiments and ships. For example, the collective of the "Krasnoye Sormovo" Plant maintains permanent close contacts with the "Gorkovskiy Komsomolets" Tank Regiment, one of the units in the Belorussian Military District. There are thousands of examples like this.

Many enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes erect exhibition stands showing the military successes of their collectives' trainees. Military collectives which are socialist competition winners are awarded challenge Red Banners by local party and Komsomol committees and trade union organizations and challenge prizes. In the libraries and Lenin rooms of units and ships, you can read the oblast, city, and rayon newspapers of those areas from which the men have come to do military service.

New forms of patronage ties have been born in recent years. For instance, military units now act as patrons to nearly 900 children's homes. Open letters from parents to the servicemen and letters from enterprises are often read at servicemen's general meetings. Special "parents' mandate" books are kept in some units and on some ships. In turn at enterprises and institutions and on kolkhozes letters from Army and Navy commanders and political workers are read at general meetings of the collectives. Joint amateur concerts and meetings with art workers serve to enrich the spiritual ties between working people and servicemen.

Much that is new has also emerged in training young men for military service. The holding of "open days" by military units, ships, and military educational establishments—when young men have the opportunity to familiarize themselves directly with weapons and combat equipment and the servicemen's training, life, and daily routine—are firmly entering into practice. Universities for the future serviceman, legal public advice bureaus, and agitation centers operate successfully at many military commissariats. Important significance attaches to the joint work of the military commissariats and the DOSAAF to improve the knowledge of the Russian language—the language of interethnic communication—among young men of predraft and draft age. The improvement of the results of this work undoubtedly depends directly on the specific participation and concern of the local party and soviet organs and public organizations. The same can be said of improving the quality of primary military training in schools and vocational and technical colleges.

The performance of ceremonial rituals—such as the taking of the military oath by young servicemen with the participation of their parents and of party, labor, and Armed Forces veterans and joint visits to memorial complexes and sites of combat glory dear to the Soviet people—possess great moral potential. And surely we cannot overestimate the beneficial influence exerted on the serviceman's heart and soul by rallies of soldiers' mothers and fathers—that recently born new tradition! Thanks to the mass media these rallies are acquiring all-union, nationwide resonance and are playing an invaluable part in the military-patriotic education of the rising generation. The contribution made to this education by war and labor veterans and internationalist servicemen is priceless.

These are all living manifestations of the popular nature of our Army and its inseparability from the life of Soviet society. Today, under the conditions of democratization and glasnost, the life and activity of the Armed Forces is becoming increasingly open. Shortcomings in training, service, military discipline, and the organization of the daily routine of units and ships are frequently justly criticized. This undoubtedly helps to eliminate negative phenomena and assists the successful solution of the tasks of restructuring and the attainment of a qualitatively new status for the Armed Forces, one which accords with the requirements of the time. But if we are talking of the glorious deeds and accomplishments of the Army and Navy servicemen which fill their combat training and service today or of the harsh military routine filled with selfless labor and graphic manifestations of the best human qualities, then I think that writers, poets, composers, and workers in the mass media have still not mastered this theme, which contains an enormous educational and patriotic charge.

Since the first days of Soviet power the defense of the socialist fatherland has been a nationwide concern. Thanks to this concern and the daily leadership of the party, the combat potential of the Soviet Army and Navy, which celebrate their 71st anniversary today, is maintained at a level sufficient to guarantee the security of the USSR and its allies and to reliably defend Soviet people's peaceful labor and peaceful life.

Lushev: Political Moves Can Lessen War Threat

LD2302095889 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Today is Soviet Army Day. As First Deputy Defense Minister General Petr Lushev said in an interview on the occasion, the Soviet Army has made a decisive contribution to the victory in the Second World War to the liberation of the people of Europe from Nazi slavery. That victory had opened up new possibilities for the work of nations for peace and democracy.

On the Soviet peace initiative, Gen Lushev singled out the recent decision to reduce the country's Armed Forces by 500,000 men. In the new conditions created over recent years, the Soviet Union's defenses are ensured reliably, said the general. And moves by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the international arena show that the threat of war can be lessened by political means.

Sorokin on Military Cuts, Defense Sufficiency

LD2302112189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] "In the Direction of Reasonable and Reliable Sufficiency"—that is the title which the newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI gives to an interview with Army General Mikhail Sorokin, deputy defense minister of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of today's 71st anniversary of the creation of the Soviet Armed Forces.

We are restricting the composition of the Armed Forces, the quantity and quality of [word indistinct] arms to a limit fully appropriate to the degree of war danger, ensuring military balance and strategic parity between countries. Common sense indicates, General Sorokin says, that we will have such resources as are indispensible for defense. We are resigning from that which could induce anxiety on the other side. An example here will be the full implementation of settlements outlined in the agreement concerning the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

*Moscow Air Defense Chief on Troop Cuts, Budget

WA18010199 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with Air Force Colonel General V. Tsarkov by Major A. Kraynyy: "Do Not Dodge Tough Issues"]

[Text] Vladimir Georgiyevich Tsarkov is a native Muscovite. He is 55 years old, and a candidate people's deputy from one of territorial constituencies in Moscow. As a regiment commander, he was the first in the Armed

Forces to conduct military testing of the MiG-25, for which he was decorated with the order of the Red Star. He is an Air Force colonel general commanding the troops of the Moscow Air Defense Forces District.

[Kraynyy] Vladimir Georgiyevich, I am aware that these are hectic days for you. Apart from your service responsibilities, you have many meetings with voters. Tell us which are the most frequently asked questions?

[Tsarkov] They ask me about my program; there are many questions about the ecological situation in the city and its area. As a military man, I am most frequently asked about my attitude toward forthcoming reductions in the Armed Forces.

[Kraynyy] And what is your answer?

[Tsarkov] I say that my attitude is normal, that this is a correct decision. First, this will improve the international situation; second, it will show to the entire world that we are rectifying the imbalance in conventional arms which has emerged in Europe in deeds rather than words. Third, this means considerable savings of state funds. Besides, the cuts will allow us...how shall I put it more precisely, to normalize conscription into the Armed Forces, to improve its quality. It is no secret that at present the draft boards, in an effort to meet the quotas at any price, sometimes call up people who cannot be in the service either due to their health status or some other reason.

[Kraynyy] Perhaps, you remember the previous cut of the Armed Forces?

[Tsarkov] Then, in the late 1950s, thousands of young officers were cut. Ships and aircraft were cut into scrap metal. Many former frontline officers found themselves literally in the street. This sad experience has been taken into account. The issue of the present cut was resolved in a balanced manner.

[Kraynyy] Still, many officers and petty officers are apprehensive.

[Tsarkov] Any cut is painful. This is why it is necessary to retain primarily young cadres, to approach every person with sensitivity. After all, we are not cutting a "box" in the table of organization but rather a live person who, as a rule, has a family. We will retire first of all those who have served out the tenure established and are entitled to a pension. We should give our attention and warmth to those retired and provide assistance with housing and financing. Maybe, we should envisage courses for training in a new profession.

[Kraynyy] In other words, we are talking about greater protection for the man with shoulder boards than before?

[Tsarkov] Yes. For a long time, this was not discussed at all. Meanwhile, I know about the lack of social protection for officers from my own experience. In 1976, after an aircraft accident, I was in a military hospital, the diagnosis being a broken spine. Had I had to retire from the Army for poor health, or had the outcome of the accident been more tragic, my family would have been in a very difficult situation. I always think about it when I hear idle talk about the officers supposedly doing nothing while raking it in. A person who has faithfully and honestly served his motherland for 25 or 30 years, who on her orders has moved many times, loses his apartment. As a rule, his wife who has shared all the difficulties and burden of service with him is an employee who has lost her skills because in garrisons, especially the remote ones, there is no work for women, and so on. If I am elected a people's deputy of the USSR I will fight for a resolution of these acute, painful issues.

[Kraynyy] What else does your electoral platform include?

[Tsarkov] The main task is to return to the people, to the soviets, real power rather than the one proclaimed "on holidays." This demand is current now, during the fourth year of restructuring. We are calling on the person to be a master, to own something, and there is no being a master with responsibilities but without rights. This is why I beleive that it is necessary to establish full authority of the soviets in their jurisdiction, to pass a law on local self-management, to make the management apparatus report to the soviets, and, incidentally, give to voters the right to give a vote of no confidence to a soviet which does not carry out the will of the people. We should acknowledge that so far the people were alienated from the authorities, and the deputies were largely nominal figures. Thus far, the power has belonged and continues to belong to the apparatus.

[Kraynyy] Vladimir Georgiyevich, what is your view of the calls recently carried by the press to release the budget of the Armed Forces?

[Tsarkov] I think that those whose honestly earned rubles pay for maintaining the Armed Forces have an absolute right to know how their money is spent. Moreover, I think that we should adjust the structure and composition of the Armed Forces taking adequate defense capability into account and pass a new law on the defense of the USSR, solving in the process the task of revising the existing order of conscription.

[Kraynyy] You are a native Muscovite. I know that for a long time you served far from Moscow, and have lived in Moscow for only 2 recent years since your assignment to the post of commander of the Moscow Air Defense Forces District. As you see it, how has the city changed?

[Tsarkov] I have never severed my bond with Moscow. I used to come back to my native city every year and observed with pain as all big-city problems, primarily the

ecological ones, were becoming more acute in Moscow. When I became a deputy of the Moscow City Soviet I came to deal with these problems directly, and I was astounded by the fact that for many years they were practically not being solved. Say, there was a resolution of the Moscow City Soviet on relocating 400 most ecologically harmful enterprises away from the city. The decision was made, but not carried out. As a result, the Yauza river has now turned into the hotbed of every ecological disease; it is dying. This is why I think that strict policies need to be implemented. Enterprises under construction should be commissioned only after an ecological review; they should be equipped with a full set of purification devices, filters, etc. Enterprises already in operation which harm the inhabitants of the city should pay fines in an amount no smaller than the losses inflicted, and up to the point of closing them down because it is practically impossible to calculate losses per person.

In the rayon where I was nominated a candidate deputy the ecological issue is extremely acute, and urgent measures are necessary.

[Kraynyy] You said "in the rayon" and thus anticipated my question. You were nominated a candidate people's deputy of the USSR, nominated in a rayon. How are state-level and rayon-level issues to be balanced?

[Tsarkov] I understand you. Everything is interconnected. It is no good if deputies in the supreme legislative organ of the country solve partial issues and, so to say, pull the blanket their way. The task of a people's deputy of the USSR is not to "wheedle" more from the state for the rayon that elected him. Issues on a countrywide scale need to be resolved, and strategy needs to be determined. Certainly, it can only be determined when we are aware of the situation in a specific area as well and of the opinion of its population, i. e., the electorate. On the other hand, a strategy is implemented through tactics. If, say, an all-union ecological program is adopted the inhabitants of that same long-suffering microregion of Brateyevo will breathe easier both literally and figuratively, because, as they say, the rest will only depend on how local organization works out. In this matter, much will again depend on the people's deputy elected by the citizens of the rayon.

[Kraynyy] By the way, do you have competitors in Brateyevo?

[Tsarkov] Yes, there are several competitors. All of them have interesting and impressive programs. As I see it, there are also weaknesses in them. I have already said that I am ready to "cross our swords" in oral or televised debates. I believe that this form of election struggle which is new to us is not only interesting but useful, because it lets the voters learn up close who is who, to compare electoral programs and make their choice.

[Kraynyy] I wish you success.

[Tsarkov] Thank you.

Political Observer Discusses Army Reforms

AU2102163589 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 8, 20 Feb 89 pp 1, 8-9

[Article by Vasiliy Morozov, NOVOSTI political observer for POGLED: "What Sort of Army Do We Need Today?"]

[Excerpts] The Armed Forces are part of our society, and they are by far not the worst part, because as a rule the Army Staff is composed of people with an above-average intelligence. Hence, they cannot fail to be concerned with restructuring. The chief goal of restructuring within the Army, in my opinion, is to achieve real progress in the quality of combat training, and as soon as possible, to eliminate the elements of stagnation, which exist in the Armed Forces, as well as in all other spheres of our society.

The first trend of restructuring in the Army is to enhance the human role which applies above all to responsibility, professional training, discipline, initiative, and independent action.

The second trend applies to the democratization of Army life. Some people claim that democratization cannot be applied to the Armed Forces because everything is subject to strict rules in the Army. The opposite is true. Democratization is not only applicable, but a necessary prerequisite for the normal operation of the Army and Navy. It is by no means in conflict with the Army statute.

Glasnost is the third important trend in restructuring. We have already demonstrated our chemical weapons, we have shown our nuclear and space testing grounds, we published data about our armaments, and we will soon publicize our military budget, as well as the regional composition of our Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

Naturally, since the concept of restructuring has already been developed, the General Staff cannot reject the new ideas. On the contrary, the General Staff is trying to substantiate these ideas and to use all their positive assets. Numerous newspapers, for example, raised the question of student conscription, saying that the students should not interrupt their studies. A document is now under preparation which states that students in higher educational institutions with military faculties will receive their military training during their studies and then will be reserve officers. Students who attend educational institutions where there are no military faculties will do their military service after their graduation.

There are even some radical ideas, according to which the Army should be reduced by half. [passage omitted].

Nevertheless, we cannot engage in drastic one-sided reductions without reciprocal steps. Certain people claim that no military threat exists. This is by no means

correct—a military threat is neither a fiction nor a myth invented by the military. It is an objective reality that should be taken into consideration.

Numerous ideas exist today, some of them are even ahead of their time. Let us take the proposal to eliminate conscription and introduce a professional mercenary army, for example. This is likely to increase the expenditures for its financial support by at least 5 to 8 times. In the U.S. Army, for example, the pay of a U.S. petty officer nearly equals that of our president. Low-ranking sergeants, for example, earn as much as our own defense minister, or any other Soviet minister. Rank and file soldiers earn as much as Soviet generals. This is impossible for us from an economic point of view. It is unnecessary from the political point of view. Let us not forget the principles of our military organization, according to which defense of the motherland is the cause of every Soviet patriot and citizen.

Under the present circumstances we have no reason to take such a step. Perhaps, after several stages of military reductions, when confrontation between the two systems will have diminished considerably, the time for such steps will come. A professional army is possible in theory and practice, but not at the present stage.

Numerous proposals have been submitted on the introduction of a territorial-militia army. This Army is based on maintaining a minimal number of military personnel on the payroll, chiefly a command staff, in peace time. Training takes place during brief military exercises on a territorial basis. Such an army existed in our country, along with the regular troops during the twenties and thirties and, in my opinion, was one of the reasons for our failures at the beginning of the Patriotic War. I think that under the present conditions of technical equipment and highly complicated military skills this form is not very appropriate. [passage omitted]

Another topical question is whether the minister of defense should be a professional soldier or a civilian. The fact that such an issue is being discussed speaks for itself. I cannot make any comment on behalf of the leadership, but in the spirit of a pluralism of opinions I would like to express my own personal point of view. I agree that the minister of defense should be a political and not a military figure. This would be logical, since according to new political thinking, the country's defense is achieved by a coordination of political and military methods.

Last, but not least, the best means of defense is the one that begins and ends at the negotiating table.

Moiseyev Meets Northern Fleet Communists

PM2302094589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by Captain Third Rank P. Ishchenko: "Restructuring the Focus of Attention"]

[Text] A meeting between the CPSU's candidate USSR people's deputy, Colonel General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, and the Communists and representatives of the party organizations of the Northern Fleet has been held in the North Sea officers' house.

In his speech the candidate USSR people's deputy noted that his platform in its general political section is wholly and fully determined by the closely interconnected immediate and long-term sociopolitical and defense tasks outlined by the party.

Colonel General M. Moiseyev dwelled on the problems with which the Defense Ministry and General Staff are now concerned. He paid special attention to the central position of his election program—the further development and intensification of restructuring in the Army and Navy.

The meeting was addressed by Captain Second Rank V. Nechipurenko, Lieutenant Colonel A. Vashkevich, Senior Seaman K. Makarov, and others. The participants in the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution to support the nomination of Colonel General M. Moiseyev as candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

On the same day Colonel General M. Moiseyev visited atomic missile-carrying submarines and the missile cruiser "Marshal Ustinov."

'Forgotten' Military Memoirs To Be Published

PM2202144589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel A. Shesternev, chief editor of the Military Publishing House Military Memoirs Editorial Office, by "our correspondent" S. Ostanin: "History Is Topical; Military Publishing House Has Embarked on Publication of 'Forgotten' Memoirs"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Our correspondent S. Ostanin talks about the prospects of publishing military memoirs with Colonel A. Shesternev, chief editor of the Military Publishing House Military Memoirs Editorial Office.

[Ostanin] Anatoliy Petrovich, the return of "forgotten" names is obviously a tribute to the times?

[Shesternev] No, it is a case of a long-term avenue in publishing. After all, memoirs are a special genre. They are valuable primarily as a document and as evidence from a participant in historical events. Soviet people have a particularly strong need for documentary evidence right now, when we are reconsidering our country's history. Providing a primary source in order to recreate an objective picture of our society's development—that is our paramount task. Incidentally, this was understood back in 1927 when the State Belles Lettres Publishing House published the memoirs of even our enemies—Denikin, Yudenich, and Vrangel. The new edition will have a more thorough preface and commentary.

We also see our duty in restoring historical justice. The publication of notes and reminiscences of Soviet military leaders who suffered during Stalin's repressions gives us this opportunity. These memoirs are valuable in that the older generation is addressing young people, bequeathing to them all that is best. For instance, the four-volume "Notes on the Civil War" [Zapiski o Grazhdanskoy Voyne] by V. Antonov-Ovseyenko, which has not been republished for nearly 60 years, will be one of them. Matters are more complex with the publication of the memoirs of Yakir, Tukhachevskiy, Blyukher, and a number of other military leaders. There is no integral text of these memoirs. Fragmentary notes, newspaper items, and letters have been preserved, and with time they will obviously become part of memoirs publications.

[Ostanin] Readers' interest in history and the individual was for a long time maintained by literature about the Great Patriotic War. Has the search for interesting authors been exhausted here?

[Shesternev] Work is continuing. We are preparing for the press the memoirs of Army General N. Lyashchenko, a participant in the struggle against the Basmachi movement [Central Asian movement in 1920's] and in the Spanish people's 1936-1939 war. Hero of the Soviet Union Army General S. Ivanov will describe the start of the Great Patriotic War from today's position. The memoirs of S. Gorshkov, admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union and Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, and of C. Chernavin, admiral of the Fleet and Hero of the Soviet Union, contain much of interest about our Armed Forces' postwar development

A "library of selected military memoirs"—about 20 books—will be published over the period 1990-1995. They will be supplemented republications of the memoirs of Rokossovskiy, Konev, and other military leaders. The book by N. Kuznetsov, admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union and Hero of the Soviet Union, for instance, will include a chapter on arrests in the Navy before the war. It not only shows events but also provides a contemporary's interpretation of them, and conveys the author's assessment.

[Ostanin] At present there is a big demand for memoirs and authors writing on past centuries and on our contemporaries.

[Shesternev] We are also taking into account this feature of our readers. This year the letters and notes of Kutuzov and later of Suvorov will appear in the "Martial Glory of the Fatherland" series. The memoirs and letters of the Russian military leaders P. Rumyanstev-Zadunayskiy and F. Ushakov will be published. A. Kuropatkin's "Diary" will be published in 1991-1992. The "Afghan" theme has not been forgotten. An anthology of the memoirs of internationalist servicemen will go on sale soon.